

THE
POLITICAL

Last Testament

Of Monsieur
JOHN BAPTIST COLBERT.

Late Minister and Secretary
of State to *Lewis XIV.*

W H E R E I N

Is an Account of All that hath passed
under the Reign of That King, unto
the Year 1684. With Remarks upon the
Government of the Kingdom of *France.*

Translated out of the French,

And Premised with

The L I F E of Mr. COLBERT.

A N D

A Chronological Table of the Dates,
which are Chiefly Wanting.

By JOHN AUGUSTINE BERNARD.

*Sometime Fellow of Br. N. Col. and P.P. of
Moral Philosophy, Oxon.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for Charles Brome, at the Gun at the
West-end of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1695.

Right Honourable

Lord ASTON

My Lord
I have the honour to
acknowledge the receipt of
your letter of the 14th inst.
and in reply to inform you
that the same has been
forwarded to the proper
authorities for their
consideration.

TO THE
Right Honourable
THE
Lord ASTON.

My LORD,

I Give my self the Honour to
Dedicate to Your Lordship my
Translation of a Book of a
Great Minister, who was cele-
brated in his time by all the Pens
of France. It is indeed one conti-
nued Speech of that Minister to the
King his Master : in which as he
a 2 hath

hath followed in the steps of the Cardinal of Richlieu, and hath written to the Son just as that Cardinal hath written to the Father, so there is this Affinity besides betwixt the two Designs of the one and the other, That if the Testament Politique of the Cardinal of Richlieu is that, which lays down a Foundation of the Greatness of the Monarchy of France; the Testament Politique of Monsieur Colbert, shews the building and the superstructure, which hath hitherto been made upon that foundation. And betwixt both of them, one hath a Perfect prospect of the Policies by which that Monarchy hath attained unto the state wherein it is at this day, which in less than half of an Age ago hath had the Spaniards tyrannizing both in Champagne and Picardy; and which in the Reigns of the Predecessors to Lewis

was the XIV. and even in the time of Henry the IV. had not at the Sea so much as a single Vessel.

But however that is, I shall not forbear nevertheless to Hope, that I present Your Lordship with a Book, which is of weight, and which hath been Digested by a Person, who had all the Qualities of a Fine Thought to do it very well. There may be Elogiums in it, such as are by no means of a Taste to please all the world. But that which will easily Attune for those, is, that it is to be considered, that it is a Minister of State who speaks to his Master : And although what he says is calculated for the Meridian particularly of his own Country, yet besides that one may be so much the more concerned, for that very reason, to take Notice of it ; He is also fruitful of a Great many things, which are of Universal use, and the Result of an Experience

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perience in the Affairs of State of no less than forty years.

For my Part, I have not had the occasion to Re-pass under my Hand all that, which he says, concerning either the Farmers, or the Lawyers, or the Monks, or the Marquis of Louvois, and sometimes himself; Or concerning a Publick Register, or the Faux Nobles; or even his Maxims of State with respect to his own or to other Countrys; but at the same time I am become in Love with his memory, for the sake of the Justice and the Integrity, which shine so visibly in what he says. He leaves the Cardinal of Richlieu in the full possession of all the glory, which is due to him. The times were not the same under their two Ministries. But in the Instances in which he hath followed him, he ingeniously Declares it: and all the rest of his Maxims are his own; because he would not Beat upon a thing

thing, which had been already done
by another.

My Lord,

Of all this, and of the Quality of
the Translation which I have made of
it, I am very sensible that when I give
my self the Honour to Dedicate it to
you, I put my self into the Presence
of a very Great Judge. Yet I cannot
pretend to desire, that You should Pa-
tronize my faults. Your Lordship will
oblige me infinitely to be the first to
tell me of them: and as it is that
Great Worth and Virtue, which You are
the Master of, which hath commanded
me to Court Your Friendship, I shall be-
gin to think my self so Happy as to
possess a better share in that than I
deserve, if I am instructed by You,
in what I may have been mistaken
in the Notion of a Foreign Language,
which I have taken chiefly upon my

own Fonds : for it was but a short time, that I was in the Country.

But it is impossible, that this last word should escape me, without my remembring, with some concern upon me, a Son of Your Lordships, who is since Dead in the Bed of Honour : And I am extreamly willing to serve my self of this opportunity to express the great esteem which I had for him. He was not only to be esteemed for a Military Faculty, which makes usually all the glory of a Soldier ; but also for all the other Moral and Christian Virtues, which in the same person is a very rare thing. Every one who knew him, will acknowledge, that This is justly his Epitaph. At the same time I would only desire, that they may observe, that it is the very thing too, which Monsieur Colbert says upon the death of the Great Turenne : and therefore what might
Mr.

Mr. Aston have Not attained to, who
set out so Nobly and who was so char-
ming in the first blossoms of his Glory?
This it was, to have the Felicity of
the Example of a Father, who to the
Honours of his Quality and his
Family hath added all the Ornaments
of Virtue and Knowledge. Indeed the
First in a person without the Other,
are of no extraordinary Weight with
one, who shall know how to distinguish
betwixt what he hath received from
a Child-bed Labour, and what he
hath from his own. One may very
well question the goodness of that Blood,
which does not Elaborate it self into
Spirits for the Brains. But You, my
Lord, are Equally in Both those Re-
spects most Happy: And I am confi-
dent that you do not think, but that
the Grand Exemplar, Julius Cæsar,
hath made himself as Famous from
the Closet as from the Field: That
his

his *Commentaries* will last, as long
as ever the Plains of Pharsalia: That
he hath wrote his battles as prosperously
as he fought them; and the Conquests
which he made with his Sword, His
own Pen hath Consecrated to Posterity.

I only add, with all the Respect
which I owe to the sentiments of some
Ingenious Persons, that at least, it is
my Opinion, that it is not to be doub-
ted, but that This Piece is Genuine, and
what was found amongst the Papers of
Monsieur Colbert under his Hand in
his Closet after his Death. The strokes
and the signatures which he discovers
of himself in it, are so exactly agree-
able to that Character of him, which is
given by one who is no Flatterer in
L'Esprit de Monsieur Arnaud, as
that nothing can be more. It is a
Piece, which is no shame, nor yet dan-
gerous to the Author; for whom there
should be any Necessity to use an in-
terposed

terposed name. The Family of Monsieur Colbert hath not Renounced it. And as he was certainly no Bigot, it is easie to expect, that he might speak as he does of the Monks and the poor People of Flanders, whilst he may be thought not to understand it in the sense of the Schools, but in that in which he calls the Duke of Lorain an Idolater of his Money, which properly is rather a Dotage than an Idolatry. I have Premised to it some Particulars of the Life of Monsieur Colbert, which are over and above what he Discovers to us, in what he hath an occasion to say concerning himself. And because all History is Blind without a Chronology to it, I have taken care to add also the most remarkable Dates to things, which have been almost wholly omitted by Him.

My

*My Lord,
I Humbly desire You to Accept of
it, and of my Assurances, that I
Am with the greatest respect,*

YOUR LORDSHIPS

*most Humble, and
most Obedient
Servant,*

J. A. BERNARD.

O F T H E
L I F E

O F

Monfieur COLBERT.

MOnfieur *John Baptift Colbert*, the Marquis of *Seignelay* and *Chateaufneuf* upon the River *Cher*, Baron of *Sceaux*, *Linieres*, *Ormois*, &c. was born at *Paris* upon the laft day of *Auguft*, in the year 1619. His Family was Originally of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: and the time when it firft came to be eftablifhed in *France* in the Province of *Champagne*, was, about the end of the Twelfth Century. There is to be feen in the Church of the *Cordeliers* at the City of *Rheims* in that Province, the Tomb of the *Chevalier Richard Colbert*, in whole perfon this Eftablifhment commenced; and from whom the Family of the Name, which now is in *France*, and which hath

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hath been ever since continued there from that time, are the Descendants lineally. But especially the two Inscriptions which there are upon the stone of that Tomb, are Evidences not only of this Original, but of the Time also of the establishment of the family in the person of that *Chevalier*, the first in that Kingdom. They are in Gothic Letters,

CY GIST LY PREUZ CHEVAL-
LIERS RICHARD COLBERT DICT
LY ESCOSSOIS K. J. F. ———

(Here there are three or four words which one cannot read) ——— 1300.

PRIEZ POUR L'AME DE LY.

And afterwards,

*En Escosse je vis le Bercean,
Et Rheims m'a donne le Tombeau :*

That is,

*Here lies the Worthy Chevalier Richard
Colbert, called the Scotchman——1300.*

*Pray for the Soul of him : And
—— In Scotland I had my Cradle,
And Rheims hath given me my Grave.*

There

of Monsieur Colbert.

There is upon the same Stone the Coat of Arms also of that *Chevalier* engraved, which is the Arms of the Family at this day, Bearing a Snake in *Pale Ward.*

I am not to say any thing of the Advantages, by which it was that Monsieur Colbert first arrived unto the Favour of the King his Master: Because I would make no Repetition here, of what may be discovered from himself in the book that follows. But in fine, in the year 1661, the King having actually called him to his Councils, and having intrusted him soon after with the Management of the *Finances*, with the Title of the *Comptroller-General*, He set himself to work there with that care and with that Conduct, as hath made him to be admired for the Greatest and the Happiest person, who hath ever served in that Office since the Beginning of the Monarchy. There had been a *Chaos* in it, before him, which none of his Predecessors had been able to disperse. It was the most obscure and the most confused thing in the World, But Monsieur Colbert brought it in the end into an order, so clear and so regular, that it is extolled as a sort of a Prodigy: and the effects thereof were very well seen in this, that he attained to do things by it, which had appeared impossible to all those, who
had

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had preceded him in the same Administration. For he provided at once for a greater Number of Troops than the Kingdom had ever had by land before him, and also at the same time for those measures, which were to be taken to increase its Power upon the Sea. He provided for the Fortifications upon all the Frontiers; and together with those, for the New Buildings which were made in all the King's Seats; for an extraordinary splendour, above what it had used to be, of the King's Household; for the Gratifications which were bestowed upon the *Gens de Lettres*, which amounted every year in the whole to an Immense Sum; and for all the other charges of the State, with such a magnificence, as hath no Precedent for it in the foregoing Reigns. And in the beginning of every year, he gave an Account to the King, upon a little *Agenda*, of all the Sums which were to return in the course of that year into the Coffers of his Majesty, with the state of the funds which had been made for them; and according as they made others a-new, he put them down again upon the same *Agenda*. So that That King had used to say many times in the honour of him, that he knew as well his Receipts and his Expences, as the most exact and the most regular private person did in the Kingdom. For

of Monsieur Colbert.

For an Example of those Gratifications which were bestowed upon the *Gens de Lettres* in divers Countries, I think it fitting to set down here a Letter, which was written to the Learned *Isaac Vossius*, late one of the Prebendaries of *Windsor*, from Monsieur Colbert by the order of his Master in the year 1663.

Monsieur,

Q Uoique le Roi ne soit pas votre Souverain, il veut néanmoins etre votre bienfaiteur : & m'a commande de vous envoyer la lettre de change ci-joynte, comme une marque de son estime & un gage de sa Protection. Chacun sait, que vous suivez dignement l'exemple du fameux *Vossius* votre Pere; & qu'ayant receu de lui un nom qui l'a rendu illustre par ses Ecrits, vous en conservez la gloire par les vôtres. Ces choses etant connues de sa Majeste, elle se porte avec plaisir a gratifier votre merite; & j'ai d'autant plus de joie, qu'elle m'ait donne ordre de vous le fair savoir, que je puis me servir de cette occasion pour vous assurer que je suis,

Monsieur,

Votre tres-humble, & tres-

Affectionne Seveur,

b

COLBERT.

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Sir,

Altho'ugh that the King is not your Sovereign, He is willing nevertheless to be your Benefactor: and hath commanded me to send you the Letter of Exchange here adjoyned, as a mark of his esteem and a Pledge of his Protection. Every one knows that you follow, worthily, the example of the Famous *Vossius*, your *Father*; and that having received from him a Name, which he hath render'd illustrious by his Writings, you also preserve the glory of it by yours. These things being known to his Majesty, he is induced, with pleasure, to gratifie your Desert: and I have so much the more delight that he hath given me the order to let you know it, as I can serve myself of this opportunity to assure you, that I am,

Sir,

Your most Humble, and
most Affectionate Servant,

C O L B E R T.

Now if in these sorts of things, the Love which Monsieur *Colbert* had of himself for the *Beaux Arts* might be some Motive to him to encourage them, yet he had an
Eye

of Monsieur Colbert.

Eye much more upon the Grandeur of the Kingdom, and the Glory of his Master. Especially he saw, that there did occasions continually present themselves to do an infinite number of Curiosities, for the one and the other, as Medals, Devises, Inscriptions, Orations, Figures, and the like, which could not be done without a great deal of wit. So he established an Academy of some select Persons at his House, where He had a very fine Library of his own Books and Manuscripts, who assembled there twice a week, not only to compose such sorts of Pieces, but to examine into every thing besides which was done in that Kind by the *Ingenious* of all Parts, either at Home or Abroad. Indeed, He was the *Mecenas* of France: and by that Encouragement which he gave to persons, which is as necessary to them to engage them to exert their Powers as the warmth of the Sun is to the growth of the Fruit, we have seen that that Kingdom hath produced those Great and Curious Wits, who have come up in many things to a height of perfection, which no Country nor no Reign can very well Parallel, but only that of *Italy* in the Reign of *Augustus*.

the Power was might be some Motive to
to encourage them to do so
b x

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In the year 1664. the King made him the *Surintendant* of his Buildings and the *Ordonnateur* General of the Arts and the Manufactures of *France*. He set upon the *Louvre*, to give that Palace its last Perfection: and he invited the Cavalier *Bernini* to his assistance in it, out of *Italy*: where the Reputation which he had acquired under the several Pontificates of *Paul* the 5th, *Gregory* the 15th, *Urban* the 8th, and *Alexander* the 7th; and the Works which he had done to the Church of *St. Peter* at *Rome*, whereof *Urban* the 8th had given him the Superintendance, had made him remarkable to him. The Design of *Bernini* was not however followed, for the sake of another that was more Agreeable to the King, which was Presented by Monsieur *Perraut*, who was one of Monsieur *Colbert*'s Academicians, and the Author of the Translation of *Vitruvius*. But yet the Cavalier *Bernini* gained all the Applauses of the Court in another Work which he did; and returned to *Rome* with a *Brevet* of a Pension of 2000 Crowns.

In the year 1666. Monsieur *Colbert* established, out of the most knowing Physicians and Mathematicians about *Paris*, a Society, which he called the *Academie Royale des Sciences*. They were to apply themselves particularly to Geometry, Astronomy, Physick, and

of Monsieur Colbert.

Chymistry. For the operations of which last Science, he Built a great Elaboratory in the King's Library in the *Leuvre*, where they Assembled: and in the 1667. he built a Great Observatory in the *Fauxbourg St. Jacques* for the operations of Astronomy. He invited into *France*, Signior *Cassini*, the Famous Professor of Astronomy of *Padua*, for the further Honour of this Science; and he did the same to Monsieur *Huygens* out of *Holland*, the Inventor of the *Pendulum*: who both of them, had Pensions from the King by Him.

In the year 1667. He was Received a Member of the *French Academy* in the place of Monsieur *Silhon*, deceased.

In 1669. the King made him a Secretary of State, and put into his hands the *Marine*. He set himself upon the building of a great Number of new Ships and Gallies. He built at the same time the Arsenals of *Thoulon*, *Marseilles*, *Brest*, and *Roche-fort*. He formed two Companies of Merchants for the East and West *India* Commerce. He put a Life into Trade throughout all *France*, and he erected many Manufactures there of Stuffs, Lace, Glasses, and other things, for which a considerable quantity of Money had gone before every year out of the Kingdom.

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As he had a particular *goût* for the beauties of Sculpture, Painting and Architecture, he established a Society at *Paris*, in the year 1671. by the name of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*; which consisted of the most Knowing Persons of that kind, who were to attend to the things that concern the honour and the Emprovement of that Profession.

The New Buildings at *Verfailles* in 1678, and in 1681. owe their Perfection to this Minister. The Canal of *Languedoc*, which was begun in 1666. for a Communication betwixt the two Seas, and was finished in 1681, and is one of the greatest enterprizes of this Age, owes the Happiness to Him likewise, that it was brought as it was in that year to so Good an end. Who not long after died at *Paris*, Sep. 6. 1683. at the age of 64 years and 6 days.

He had had three Daughters, and six Sons by his Wife, who was the daughter of a Counsellor to the King in his Councils, and the Grand Baylist of *Blois*. The eldest of those three was marry'd to the Duke of *Chevreuse*, Feb. 3. 1667. The second to the Duke de *St. Aignan*, Jan. 21. 1671. and the third to the Duke de *Mortimar*, Feb. 14. 1679. The eldest of the six Sons succeeded to his Father in the Place of Secretary of State.

The

of Monsieur Colbert.

The second, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and the Titular Archbishop of *Carthage*. The third, a Knight of *Malta*. The fourth, the Master of the Ceremonies of *France*. The fifth, Sometime the Keeper of the King's Cabinet and Library ; which Monsieur *Colbert*, the Father, furnished with a prodigious multitude of the choicest Books, MSS. Medals and Rarities out of all Countries : And the sixth, a *l'Abbe*.

His Death was a very considerable loss to *France*, as Monsieur *de Reincourt* hath done him the Honour to say of it, in the second Part of his History of *Lewis XIV.* to the year 1683. He was a *Man*, says Monsieur *Moreri*, Born as if it were only for the glory of his Prince ; to whose interests he was intirely devoted. And although the Verses made against him after his death, which are printed in the second Part of the *Esprit de Monsieur Arnaud* are so much the more Rude, as they want Wit ; yet the Author of that Work confesses, not only that Monsieur *Colbert* did not deserve them, but that besides he was one who had always opposed himself as much as he could to the Resolution of exterminating the *Huguenots*, whom he had found to be very serviceable to him ; That he was no Bigot, nor naturally a Persecutor ; That he loved merit, where-

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ever he found it; and that as he had had a very Good Master in the King, so never any King had had a more faithful Servant. All which one may the more easily believe, if one observes the integrity of the principles which he appears to have proposed to himself all along in his Conduct; from which he could not indeed fail to be both a faithful Minister to his Master, Dear to his Country, and a Good Man to all the World.

The Brother, who is upon many occasions mentioned by him in His *Testament*, is Monsieur Charles Colbert, the Marquis de Croissy.

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Chronological Table

Of the DATES

Which are chiefly wanting to the Political
Last Testament of Monsieur Colbert

A Nno. D. 1642. July 3. Maria de Medicis dies at Cologne.

*The death of the Cardinal of Rich-
lieu at Paris, Dec. 4. 1642.*

A. D. 1643. May 14. Lewis XIII. died at
St. Germain en Laye: and Lewis XIV.
born Sept. 5. 1638. succeeds to his Father.

*The Declaration for the Queen-Mother to be Re-
gent, May 18. 1643.*

The battle of Rocroy, May 19. 1643.

*Thionville taken by the Duke of Anguien,
August 10. 1643.*

Trin, by the Savoyese, September 24. 1643.

*Rorwyl, by the Marechal de Guebriant, Nov.
19. 1643.*

A. D. 1644. Ann Queen of England retires
into France: And the Barberines.

Graveling

Graveling taken by the French, July 30. 1644.

Lerida by the Spaniards, July 30. 1644.

The battle of Freiburgh, August 3, 4, 5. 1644.

Philipsburgh taken by the Duke of Anguien,
September 7. 1644.

A.D. 1645. A Treaty of Peace betwixt the
Danes and the Swedes at Munster.

The battle of Mariendal, May 5. 1645.

The battle of Nordlingen, August 3. 1645.

Mardike taken by the French, July 10. 1645.

Treves by Turenne, November 19. 1645.

The battle of Liorens, June 22. 1645.

Rofas taken by the French, ——— 1645.

A.D. 1646. June 28. The French take Cour-
tray.

And Dunkirk, October 8. 1646.

And Porto-Longone, Sept. 30. 1646.

The Sieges under the Count d'Harcourt of Or-
bitelle and Lerida, raised ——— 1646.

The Duke of Anguien, the Prince of Conde,
by the death of his Father, Dec. 26. 1646.

A.D. 1647. The Arch-Duke Leopold, Go-
vernour of the Low-Countrys.

The Mareschal de Gassion Mortally wounded be-
fore Lens, September 28. 1647.

Lewis XIV. sick at Calais of the Small Pox,
November 1647.

A Revolt at Naples, 1647, 1648.

The Siege of Lerida under the Prince of Conde,
raised ——— 1647.

A. D.

A.D. 1648. The Duke of Guise a Prisoner at Naples; and the Siege of Cremona by the Modenese and the French, Raised.

Ypres taken by the Prince of Conde, May 28. 1648.

The Battle of Lens. ——— 1648.

The Battle of Sommerhausen, May 17. 1648.

The Barricadoes of Paris, June 1648.

A Treaty of a General Peace concluded at Munster, Oct. 24. 1648.

John Cassimire Elected King of Poland, 1648.

A.D. 1649. January the 5th or 6th, Lewis XIV. withdraws out of Paris.

Returns again to Paris, August 18. 1649.

Ypres and St. Venant, Retaken by the Arch-Duke: the Siege of Cambray, raised: Conde and Maubeuge taken by the Count d'Harcourt: Constantine, &c. by the Spaniards, ——— 1649.

A.D. 1650. Jan. 18. The Prince of Conde, a Prisoner at Vincennes. August 28. Removed to Marcouffis. November 26. Removed to Havre de Grace.

The Battle of Rhetel, December 13. 1650.

Catelet and La Chapelle taken by the Spaniards: Porto Longone retaken, ——— 1650.

A.D. 1651. Feb. 13. The Prince of Conde, at Liberty. The Cardinal Mazarine Banished.

A.D. 1652. May 4. The Viscount of Turenne, being come in to the King, besieges Estampes.

The

The Attack in the Fauxbourg S. Antoine, at Paris, July 2. 1652.

The Tumult at the l'Hotel de Ville, July 4. 1652.

Cardinal Mazarine retires a second time. 1652.

Dunkirk taken by the Spaniards, September 6. 1652.

A.D. 1653. Rhetel, Mouzon, St. Mene hot retaken by Turenne.

A.D. 1654. June 7. Lewis XIV. Anointed at Rheims.

Takes Stenay, August 6. 1654.

The battle of Arras, August 25. 1654.

A.D. 1655. July 13. Landrecy taken by the French.

The Siege of Valenciennes, raised, July 16. 1655.

The Siege of Pavia, raised. 1655.

Conde, St. Guillain, La Capelle, taken, 1655.

A.D. 1656. Valenza upon the Po, taken by the French.

Christina, Queen of Sweden, received into France. Sept. 1656.

A.D. 1657. Montmedy, Mardike, St. Venant, Ardres, taken by the French.

The Dutchess Nicolle of Lorain, dies Feb. 20.

1657: who had been married to Charles 5.

Duke of Lorain, in 1621: who had contracted a second marriage in her life-time with the Princess of Cantecroix, April 2, 1637.

A.D.

A.D. 1658. Feb. 17. A Peace concluded betwixt Sweden and Denmark.

Dunkirk surrender'd, June 23. 1658.

Lewis XIV. sick at Calais.——1658.

A.D. 1659. November 7. The Treaty of the Pyranees Finished.

A.D. 1660. June 9. The Marriage of Lewis XIV. with the Infanta of Spain.

The Prince of Conde comes to Court.——1660.

A.D. 1661. March 9. The death of the Cardinal Mazarine.

The Princess Henrietta of England married to the Duke of Orleans, March 31. 1661.

The Dauphin born, November 1. 1661.

A Difference, about Precedence, of the French and the Spanish Ambassadors at London, Oct. 1. 1661.

Monsieur Fouquet laid in Prison——1661.

A.D. 1662. Feb. 6. A Treaty betwixt Lewis XIV. and Charles III. Duke of Lorain.

Dunkirk sold to the French.——1662.

A.D. 1663. Sept. 1. A Treaty betwixt Lewis XIV. and Charles III. Duke of Lorain.

Marfal surrender'd to the French,——1663.

A.D. 1664. March 12. A difference about an Insult upon the French Ambassador at Rome in 1662. agreed at a Treaty at Pisa.

A Battle with the Emperor and the Turks, Aug. 1. 1664.

The Attempt of the French upon Gigeri, 1664.

A.D. 1665. September 17. Philip IV. King of Spain dies.

A.D.

A.D. 1666. A Fight at Sea betwixt the English and the Dutch.

A.D. 1667. May. Lewis XIV. enters into Flanders: takes Charleroy, Lisle, Audenarde, &c.

A.D. 1668. The Franche Compte, reduced under the French.

The Treaty of Aix la Chapelle concluded, May 2. 1668.

The Tripple Alliance, ——— 1668.

The Viscount of Turenne, a Roman Catholic, ——— 1668.

A.D. 1669. September 27. Candia surrendered to the Turks.

A.D. 1670. June 30. The Dutchess of Orleans dies at St. Cloud.

A.D. 1671. Dec. 16. The second marriage of the Duke of Orleans.

A.D. 1672. Feb. 24. The Prince of Orange constituted Great Admiral of Holland: and July 3. Stadtholder.

The War of Holland, ——— 1672.

A.D. 1673. June 30. Maestricht taken by the French.

Two Fights at Sea betwixt the English and the Dutch, May 28. and August 3. 1673.

Bonne taken by Montecuculi, and the Prince of Orange, ——— 1673.

The battle of St. Seim, June 16. 1673.

The Duke of York married to the daughter of the Duke of Modena, November, 1673.

A. D.

A.D. 1674. Messina Revolts from Spain, and puts its self under the French.

The Franche Comptre reduced again under the French, ——— 1674.

The battle of Senef, Aug. 10. 1674.

Grave taken by the Prince of Orange: Dinant and Huy by the Imperialists, ——— 1674.

A Peace betwixt England and Holland, 1674.

The Chevalier de Rohan executed, ——— 1674.

The Elector Palatine challenges the Viscount of Turenne, ——— 1674.

A.D. 1675. Trier taken by the Duke of Lorain: Limbourgh, Dinant, Huy, by the French: and the Cittadel of Liege delivered up to the Count d'Esttrades.

The Viscount of Turenne kill'd, July 27. 1675.

A War betwixt Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg, ——— 1675.

Charles 3. the Duke of Lorain dies, Sept. 17. 1675.

A.D. 1676. Maestricht besieged by the Prince of Orange: Elsinburgh, &c. taken by the Danes: Conde and Bouchain by the French.

De Ruyter killed in a fight with Du Querne, before Agousta, April 22. 1676.

A.D. 1677. Valenciennes, Cambray, St. Omers, taken by the French.

The battle of Mont-Cassel, April 21. 1677.

The Prince of Orange married to The Princess Mary of England, Nov. 4. 1677.

A.D.

A.D. 1678. Feb. 1. Charles 4. Duke of Lo-
 rain married to the Emperor Leopold's sister.
 Messina abandoned by the French. Gaud,
 Ypres, Lewen, taken by them,—— 1678.
 The battle of Mons,—— 1678.
 The Treaty of Nimmeghen concluded with the
 Dutch. August 10: The Spaniards, Sept. 17.
 1678.
 A.D. 1679. August 31. Charles 2. King of
 Spain, married at Fountainbleau to the
 Daughter of the Duke of Orleans.
 A.D. 1680. March 8. The Dauphin married at
 Chalons to the Princess of Bavaria.
 A.D. 1681. Sept. 29. Stratzbourgh taken by the
 French.
 A.D. 1682. Luxemburgh blockaded by the
 French.
 Algiers bombarded by Du Quesne, Sept. 1682.
 A.D. 1683. June. Algiers bombarded again
 by Du Quesne.

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THE

The EPISTLE.
To the KING.

SIRE,

THE *Divine* Protection hath appeared so visibly over the Reign of Your Majesty, that I am very much persuaded, that you do not think in any manner of attributing to your own good Conduct, all those happy occurrences, which make the Glory of your Kingdom, and the

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Abasement of your Enemies. **GOD** who hath granted you to the Vows of all your good Subjects, in a time when there were no Hopes that they would have been heard, because it was after a Barrenness of three and twenty Years, hath begun by that Miracle to make it known, that he hath Chosen You from all Eternity to be one of the most perfect Works, which there hath this long time been upon the Earth. A Truth so certain, and acknowledged so generally by all your Subjects, is what ought also to pass as far as to Strangers : who would but do what they are obliged to, if they would remain convinced, that the *Almighty* Hand of **GOD** acts for you against your Enemies. But as, if I may dare to say it, there is but an appearance of Piety in almost all the other Courts, whilst it shines visibly in yours ; they refer all this which they see unto a continual good Fortune of your Majesty, without being willing to lift up their eyes to Him, who is the **GOD** of Arms, and without whose assistance it is impossible to promise oneself any Victory. It would have been to be wished, that they should have undeceiv'd themselves sooner, and that they had been satisfied once for all, that it is **GOD** alone who protects you. There would

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would not have been shed so much Blood in the War, which you have ended so gloriously: and this would again spare *That* of an infinite number of Men, who seem designed to perish for the same quarrel. For Your Majesty, in having given a Peace to *Europe*, hath not suppressed the jealousy, with which a great many *Potentates* are still fretted, at the sight of all your great Actions. They do but watch for an opportunity to give you the Proofs of it: and before that they can submit themselves unto the Abasements, which One of your Ministers demands of them, it is to be believed, that they will Risque All for All.

But, *Sire*, should I be bold to ask you, whether it is to do service to you, to do all that, which that Minister hath done? I am afraid but you may think, that the little understanding, which there hath appeared hitherto betwixt us, carries me to offer to you this Question. The *Coups fourés* which he hath endeavoured to make at me, and which Your Majesty is still better acquainted with than I, because it is to you that he hath addressed himself many times, to render my fidelity suspected by you, may make it to be believed, That I have Resentment enough still in me, to seek to do him as
c 2 good

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good a turn. But *G O D* forbid, that my Interests should carry it so over those of Your Majesty ! I have nothing more in View, than only to show you, in what manner things pass. A great King, who hath *in hand* the Government of a Powerful Kingdom, hath not always the knowledge of every thing which his Ministers do : and especially, when he gives them the same Authority, which you give to the Marquis of *Louvois*. In the mean time if those do commit Oversights, it is to the Master that one imputes them : and if a War happens upon that, how many People suffer for the fault of one Private Man ? It seems to me also, that the Marquis of *Louvois* was actually the cause, that this War that you have finished some Years since, hath lasted so long. It is true, that the end of it hath been Glorious to your Majesty. But it is not to be said, that That is owing to his good Conduct. He hath Risked visibly by it the safety of your State : and it is nothing but the Hand of *G O D*, which hath drawn you out of it. So that he is Responsible to all your People, for the Blood which it hath cost them : And besides, if one had had a less respect and an Admiration for Your Majesty, it would occasion you perhaps to lose the
love

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love of your Subjects: Inasmuch as it is for you, who are the Father of them, to Husband their Blood, as you would your own. And is it not an extraordinary thing enough too, that a Minister, who hath never seen War, but in a Picture, should be willing to know more of it than all your Commanders. Your Majesty at the same time can boast to have of those the best in *Europe*, and into whatever Part it is that one goes, and that one names the Prince of *Conde*, and the Viscount of *Turenne*, there is no Person, but who will acknowledge, that the Reign of Your Majesty, which was destinated to make known every thing, that there is that is Great upon the Earth, ought also to have the two greatest *Captains* which *Europe* hath had of a long time.

The *Divine* Protection, which Your Majesty is sensible of the effects of continually, hath drawn you out of all these *Unhappy Steps*, in which another would have lost himself. The *Piety*, which shines in all your Actions, leads you to return your Thanks therefore always to Heaven; which is extremely pleased to see you in the Gratitude, which you owe to it. But as every one does not refer so unto *GOD*, all that, that passes here below, the faults which

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they see to be committed by your Minister augment the number of your Enemies, and maintain them in the error in which they are, that you are not Invincible. They suppose, that He who should have the greatest care to *put by* the Blows, which they are ready to make at you, showing to them your Breast all Open, it is easie for them to go straight in, to the Heart. From thence come all the Intrigues, which we see there are in *Europe* to your Prejudice; and which would be capable of giving you a mortal Blow, if it was not that it is impossible to do hurt to him, whom *GOD* hath taken so visibly into his Protection.

And we may say this also, without flattering in any manner Your Majesty, that never Prince hath been more deserving of it. You have all the Qualities of a Great King, and of a King who is truly Christian: and if you have had some *Foiblesse* in your Youth, You are so well, *GOD* be thanked, recovered of that, that there remains no more than the remembrance of it to you, to induce you to do a severer *Penance* for it. He who will please Your Majesty is to live at the Court, as in a Cloyster: from whence Vice ought to be banished. If there may Envy Reign there, yet it is not lawful to suffer

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suffer it to be seen: Your Majesty, there, is an example of Virtue to all your Courtiers: and if the Corruption of the Age is so great, that they cannot however imitate their Master, it is necessary at least, that they should make a shew of it, if they intend to be agreeable to him.

This Return of Your Majesty to GOD is the Recompence of your having never forgotten him, in whatever Condition it is, that you have found your self. If *Humane Frailty* hath so ordered it, that you should resemble *David* and so many great Sinners, who are now in *Paradise*, you have never pretended for this to dispense with your self from rendering unto GOD, that which hath belonged to him. You have endeavoured to attract his Mercy, by ordering the Worship to be paid to him, which is his due; and by performing it to him your self: Because you know, that this is the way to prevail with him. One cannot say, that you have been one single day of your life without hearing *Mass*: and although that the Late King your Father was altogether full of Piety, yet he had never been able to do what you have done, that one should abstain, whilst that Adorable Mystery is a celebrating, from prating with one another,

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and from using a thousand indecent Postures.

The Fear of God, which you have always had before your Eyes, is the reason also that you chose, during a certain time, rather to let things be believed, which one did not know of but by suspicion, than to take away the Thoughts of them by frequenting the *Sacraments*. You forbore those, so long as you did not judge yourself to be worthy of them: Or, that you did believe that your Infirmary was too great for you to perform any thing to God of what you should promise to him. This is a mark of the *Niceness* of your Conscience; and that you are far different in this from those Princes, who affect exterior Mortifications, whilst they plunge themselves in secret in all sorts of Pleasures.

What shall I say now of all the Good Qualities of Your Majesty; and which make you to be esteemed to be the most *Honest Man* of Your Kingdom, in the Minds of those who know you perfectly? It is a Truth, which is equally in the mouths of all your Subjects; and which secures me from the Thoughts, that they might otherwise have, that I would flatter you,

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you, if they understood it less. It is not therefore either Flattery, nor the Gratitude which I ought to have for so many Honours, and the Favours which I have received from your Majesty, that permit me to say it to you, that it is a long time since there hath been so Great a King upon the Earth. I have not this Truth in my mouth, but because I am fully perswaded of it; and that there shall nothing undeceive me of it ever.

Indeed, without speaking of so many strong Places which you have conquered, and of so many Victories which you have gained, Where is there besides the Prince, who after having been so ill educated, hath discovered to the World Finer Inclinations than you? I dare not say all that, that I think upon that Subject, for fear that they may accuse me of failing in my Gratitude towards the Cardinal *Mazarine*, my Benefactor. It is better that I continue silent there; and that I speak only of that, which all the World hath not been able to behold without Admiration. Yes, I do affirm it, *Sire*, without excepting the *Cæsars*, or the *Alexanders*, that there are more *Marvels* under your Reign, than under that of so many great Men, whom Antiquity boasts of to us. Never King hath
been

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been so *Betimes* at the War; and if one pretends that you did not go thither so properly, as they carried you to it, by reason that the Good of your Affairs required, that they should let you be seen upon your Frontiers, and to your Soldiers; I have nothing to answer to that, but this, that they tell me, whether it was of your self, or by the Counsel of the Cardinal *Mazarine*, that you continued entire Days upon your Horse: Which was what occasioned to Your Majesty that great Sicknes, with which you was like to dye at *Calais*: They know, that that Minister told you every day, that you hazarded visibly your Health in giving Yourself so many Fatigues. They know also, that he desired to hinder you from going to the Fort of *Mardike*: Whose infectious Air, and the Number of the Sick which was there, made him have a fear with reason for your Sacred Person. But the Inclination which you already had for every thing which is Great and High, induced you to despise that Counsel; from whence that which was apprehended, was like to have arrived now also.

As you were at this time upon your Twentieth Year, it may be said that Your Majesty did nothing in this, which was over-extraordinary, and which many others might not have

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have done as well as You. But it is fit, that one knows, that it had been already above Ten Years that You had gone to the War; and that one had seen you at an infinite number of Sieges, from which it was convenient to withdraw you by force; because you had no greater pleasure than to be with Your Soldiers, and to inform Yourself of a hundred things, which were in the mean time above your Age. What a pity is it, that a Prince born with such great Qualities hath not had the Education, which Your Majesty hath given to the *Dauphin*? What Miracles had not one seen under your Reign? Since one knows very well, that without this Assistance it is a Prodigy, not to Heap up Fault upon Fault.

There would be here some fine Reflexions for me to make upon This, That your Majesty not having ever had any knowledge of that, which contributes to the perfect Education of a Prince, hath acquitted Yourself of it nevertheless so perfectly. This would be also a favourable occasion to speak of All that, which Your Majesty hath done in relation to the *Sçavans*, and to all the Rare Men, whom you have obliged to come to you at Your great Charge out of Foreign Countries: Of the Manufactures, which you have

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have established in Your Kingdom, in that manner, that the *French* find at this day amongst themselves, That which they were obliged to go to seek elsewhere with the Expence of their Money. And This would appear so much the more *Fine*, as that there is no body who does not know, that Your Majesty hath taken all this upon your own *Bottom*, without ones having ever given you a single *Book*, from whence it might be possible for you to derive some Insight into it. They brought you up amongst the Ladies, *et dans la Mollesse*; and it is impossible, that that Word should escape me: Because it would be to steal from Your Majesty the Glory which ought to redound to you; when one shall know, that notwithstanding so ill an Education, you are Become That which we see you at this day. I should have also a great many things to say upon All That, which Your Majesty hath wrought, which is Great, and which appears altogether Extraordinary, after this that I have now remarked about your Education. But leaving those things a-part, to keep only to the Subject which I propose to my self here, I shall tell you with all the Respect which I owe to you, that the only thing which one can find fault with in Your Majesty,

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Majesty, is that you have too much Goodness, and of Confidence in those, upon whom you repose your self in certain Affairs: And it is not to *Al* the Wit, that I pretend to blame their Actions: I am still more liable than they to make Faults. But the Zeal which I have for the Service of your Majesty does not permit me to continue any more in Silence. You will please therefore, that I may give you a History in short of All that, which hath passed under your Reign; and that I may remark to You, in what it is that I think that you have been ill served. You will please also, that I may tell You in what it is, that I imagine that you may render your Reign still more Glorious. I beg of You most Humbly to pardon me this Liberty; and to be assured, that I should take a great Care how I spoke to you of this, if it was not that I cannot better demonstrate to you the Zeal which I have for your Service. That which obliges me also more particularly to tell You what I think, is, that I see my self declining every day; and that according to all the Appearances in the World, I have very little time more left me to serve you. *Cares and Watchings* abridge the Life of *Man*; and I have sufficiently Laboured at it, since

Your

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Your Majesty hath had the Goodness to call me to the Management of the *Finances*, to believe that it is time to leave my Place to another. Happy I! if Dying I can persuade you, as I have endeavoured to do during my Life, that I am with a most Profound Respect,

S I R E,

Y O U R M A J E S T Y ' S

*Most Humble, Most
Obedient Servant, and most
Faithful Subject,*

J. B. Colbert.

A

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THE

THE
POLITICAL
Last Testament

Of Monsieur

JOHN BAPTIST COLBERT.

CHAP. I.

*A Short Account of the Reign of Lewis XIV.
from his Accession to the Crown, to the year
1649. that the War of Paris began.*

IF your Majesty did not know it better than I,
That the thing which is the most necessary
to the flourishing of a state, is the Union
which is found amongst all its members, I
should here give you a description of the case
which a Prince ought to take to hinder the dis-
union of them. But as that depends upon see-
ing that the subordination of one to another is
well established, your Majesty hath been the most
capable

capable of any to settle the order, which is convenient as to that matter; *You*, who understand so well how to *Act the King*, that it is enough but only to look upon your *air*, to know, that you are a *Master to others*. And this shews by what it is, that the happiness of a Kingdom begins, and what it is that can maintain it. For if he, who is the Sovereign, does not know how to make himself to be paid what is his due, it is necessary that he have a *Minister* to act in his stead; and because men have not all the respect for a Minister, which they have for his Master, from thence come factions which degenerate often into revolts, and are the causes of the subversion of a State. The Reign of the late King your Father hath been full of occurrences like these: When we have seen the Royal family divided to that degree, that the Mother hath no longer acknowledged the Son, nor the Son the Mother; and the Brother also hath minded nothing more than to destroy his Brother and his King. Neither were the other Princes of the blood at all better affected. Which arose from this; that, his Majesty committed too great a power to his Minister, and that those Princes were persuaded, that it was the Minister, who did all. Indeed there is a great deal of appearance to believe he did: or if it had not been so, one should not have seen the Queen-Mother abandoned to that condition, that she died at *Cologne* without succour, and not having the half of what was convenient for her.

The Minority of your Majesty hath been exposed unto the same troubles; whilst you were not as yet in a state to give order to your affairs your self; and that the Queen your Mother had found

at the death of the late King, a *Chaos*, which it was not possible for a Woman to disperse. At the time when that Prince died, there was then no *Premier Minister*. The *Cardinal of Richelieu*, who had possessed that place with very great repute, had left it vacant four or five months before ; and a thousand persons were in expectation to fill it : though all *France* agreed, that amongst so great a number, there was scarce one to be found, that was worthy of it. The parties that they made, and the dispute, to whom the late King your Father had given the preference, and of the manner in which he had limited the power of the Queen, his Widow, who was to be *Regent*, gave the *Spaniards* to think to find an occasion of benefiting themselves by our disorders. They fell upon *Rocroy*, which they pretended they would carry immediately, and afterwards enter into the heart of the Kingdom. But God confounded their pride by the loss of the battle, that was given them by *Lewis of Bourbon*, Prince of *Conde*, who was then called the Duke of *Anguein* : who utterly defeated them so, that one hath not seen, that they have been able to recover themselves from that time since. Nevertheless, without being willing in the least to steal from the glory of that Prince, it may be said, that the success was not owing but to *God*. For if *He* had not taken *your Majesty* into His protection, the *Enemy* would have advanced as far as to the head of a *Defile*, which that General was to pass in their sight ; and then they could have fallen upon his back, at a time, that he had been obliged, because of the inconveniency of the ways, to divide his Army. I will yet say much more then so.

Besides all those difficulties, he ran a manifest danger in only giving the battle : because if that had been lost, the Enemy had come as far as to the Gates of *Paris*. But when *God* so permits it, one does not think on one side or the other, what is to be done : and in the mean time *He* knows, how to conduct, step by step, the person that he hath took into his protection.

The happy success of the battle of *Rocroy* did occasion that the fear, which we had been in for some time, was succeeded by a joy, which was so much the more sincere, as all your subjects had a tender love for *your Majesty*, and for the Queen your Mother. The persecution which she had suffer'd, as well as *Maria de Medicis*, during the Ministry of the *Cardinal of Richelieu*, had raised a great deal of compassion for her : and as compassion does not go but with an esteem, the more that they saw her unhappy, the more they were wedded to her fortune. In the mean time it is to be observed, that it was not so in relation to *Maria de Medicis*. They saw her depart out of the kingdom with a dry Eye ; and excepting her particular servants and her domestiques, no body was concerned for her. Upon which there is a fine reflexion for all Princes to make, which is ; that their people, even the best affected of them, lose presently the love which they have for them, unless they preserve it by a conduct that is without reproach. Whereas *she* had given too much credit to the *Mareschal d'Ancre* and his Wife, who were both of them of her own Country, to make her departure to be lamented : and as in *France*, as well as every where else, they do not love to obey strangers, the great ones complained publicly,

lickly, and retired themselves from Court, upon the account that that *Princess* had no regard to their requests. The King himself, your Father, became jealous of their favour; which was what gave way to the assassinating of that *Mareschal*, and to the fatal end of his Wife.

This business was however very ill *digested*; and God be thanked, we do not see, that the reign of *your Majesty* hath been defiled with any such things. A King does never well to imbrue his hands in the blood of his subjects; there being ways of justice to make them to be punished by, when they deserve it. At the most, there is no proceeding to *that*, but when a subject is become so powerful, that his Master hath reason to fear him. Of which number was *Walstein*: Insomuch that it is an excuse to the Emperor *Ferdinand* 3. that he commanded him to be murdered. *Henry* the 3d. had the same reason to rid himself of the *Duke of Guise*; who was upon the point of usurping his Kingdom, and causing him to be shut up in a Cloyster. But out of this case, a man is to be put into the hands of Justice; not only for the love of ones own self, but also because it is of consequence to make it known to the people, that the party is Criminal. *Henry* the 4th, your Grandfather, did so with respect to the *Mareschal de Biron*; and the fear which he might have of exciting of Troubles in the kingdom, if he perceived that his design was discovered, did not hinder him, but he bare a greater regard to what he was owing to himself, then to all the things that could happen otherwise.

Had the Queen, your Mother, done well, Sir, to have taken example by that which was befallen *Maria de Medicis*, She would not have put the state within two inches of its ruine, by the choice which she made of Cardinal *Mazarine*, to succeed in the place of *Richelieu*. The Quality which he had of being a stranger made all your subjects forget the obedience, that they owed to their Sovereign. It was to no purpose to remonstrate to them, that he had already done great services to the Crown; and was still in a condition to do more; as being one who understood the Foreign Affairs, which is absolutely necessary in a Minister, the best of any. They had got it in their heads, that those reasons were not so strong as their own. They fortify'd themselves with this; that He being born a subject to the King of *Spain*, they could never confide in him: and accusing at the same time the Queen, your Mother, with being more a *Spaniard* than a *French* Woman, they seemed to repent themselves of the compassion which they had had for her. Which they could not do neither, but with avowing also, that the Cardinal of *Richelieu* had had reason to persecute her: since all the sufferings which she had endured, had proceeded upon no other a foundation, than a supposed intelligence with the King her Brother. But it was enough for them, so they but satisfied their passion, they did not at all care at what price it was, that they had that satisfaction.

It is fit, Sir, that I call all that by the name of *Passion*, which was done a little after the death of the King your Father; since it is certain, that your Subjects did not always call their *Reason* to their

their aid: Which if they had done, they would have seen, that the Queen your Mother was not so very much to blame, as they thought, when she preferred to others a man, who was qualified to keep up the reputation which the Crown had acquir'd abroad; and who knew how he was to proceed for to succeed *there*. For this is a thing, which all the world does not know, and nevertheless is of a very great consequence. My Brother, to whom your Majesty hath had the goodness to grant to him the Office of Secretary of State for the *Foreign Affairs*, hath taken the liberty many times to represent this to your Majesty. But the *Marquis of Louvois*, who hath maxims that are quite opposite to those of the great Personages who have preceded him in the administration of the Kingdom, destroys in a moment that which they endeavoured to effect. Though whether there be always reason for it, I do not know. For it seems to me, that he puts nothing on foot, but only the forces of your Subjects: and yet it was not by that way, that the *Cardinal of Richelieu*, who understood it at least as much as he, raised a War in *Germany*; made *Portugal* and *Catalonia* to revolt; and in fine, gave the first onset towards the abasement of the House of *Austria*.

The truth is, although the Kingdom is powerful, and especially since your Majesty hath increased it at least a whole third part by your Conquests, it does not look like a thing of good sense to go to exhaust it of all its forces. Your Majesty will be much better in a condition to maintain a war, when you shall have Princes to take up arms in your favour. But in order to that, it

is necessary to treat them *like Sovereigns*, as they are ; and not to pretend, as the *Marquis of Louvois* does, that because they are altogether inferior to your Majesty, they ought to be looked upon as Slaves. Your Majesty knows perhaps the Answer, which he made to the *Envoy* of the *Elektor Palatine* ; who complained at the beginning of the war with *Holland*, that his Master was no better treated than those, who had their arms in their hands against you. He told him, that a *petit Prince*, as He was, did unhandsonly to make a noise about so small a matter : That your Majesty was not to render an account to any of your actions ; and the shewing of himself so punctilious, was the way to lose the honour of your Friendship.

These, Sir, are great words, and such as certainly give a noble *idea* of your power. But is not your Majesty as well pleased, and would you not find your Accounts better in it, that they should rather extol your Justice, then the posture that you are in to oppress your Neighbours ? It hath never been after this manner, that Empires have been made greater : and the *Romans*, who vaunted themselves to be the Masters of the World, had more consideration for their Allies, then your Minister hath for yours. If one hath a mind to *Subjekt* them, it is but fit to go more *ingeniously* about it. The *Politiques* tell us of better ways for it then so. It is but to waste them by a war, as they shall suffer all the inconveniencies of, without ever enjoying the profit. Conquests are not ordinarily for such. Though it is very often, that such do *lure* Conquests on, yet one quits them again upon some specious pretences

tences or other. As it happened in the last war; in which your Majesty hath caused those Conquests to be given back, which the Neighbouring Princes to the King of *Sueden* had made upon him. And the *Emperor* hath had no care to oppose it: because it is according to his interest, that those Princes do not increase their power; and see there the Recompence which he hath given them, for having taken his side.

I do not know, whether what I am a going to say, ought to pass for a digression, notwithstanding that it takes me from my subject: because I may not find a better place for it then here; and the reflexions which are to be made upon it, are full of as much consequence, as those which I have remaining, upon the choice of the Queen your Mother. It is said, to excuse her, that she preferred the Cardinal *Mazarine* before others, for three reasons. The first was, because he understood the Foreign Affairs: The second, because not being of the Country, he had no Relations which he might study to enrich: And the third, because it was not to give so much jealousy, as if he had been a *Frenchman*, who had been chosen to the prejudice of others. But these reasons are so feeble, that I do not believe, that they should make any great impression upon the mind of your Majesty. For, as to the first, it is a thing not to be questioned, but if the Cardinal *Mazarine* understood the affairs abroad, yet he was ignorant of those at home; which are full as necessary to be known as the other. Indeed the inconvenience of the latter is most obvious: Inasmuch as that, which approaches the nearest to the heart, is wholly of another consequence,
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than that which is at a distance from it. Neither is the knowledge of the Foreign Affairs so difficult a thing to acquire : The situation of States makes the best part of it ; and it is upon that, that it ought to be regulated.

The second reason is no better ; and quite on the contrary, there are a thousand things to reply to it. For a stranger takes as much care as another to enrich his Relations, in what Parts soever they are : besides, that he makes them welcome to him, when he sees himself to be strongly established. The three Nephews and the seven Nieces, which came presently into *France*, are an infallible evidence of this truth ; and in what family soever it had been, that one had taken a Minister, it was difficult to find a greater number of Relations. But the greatest mischief of all that I see in it, is ; that a stranger, who does not know for some time whether his post is secure to him, transports continually into his own Country, wherewithal to console himself in case of disgrace. He cannot neither be so affectionate, as a man who hath sucked in the love of his Country together with his Milk. To which I shall add, that when he is not marry'd, nor in a capacity to be so, it is still worse ; because he does not look upon the Country, where he is, as an establishment for him and his posterity.

The third reason is yet more feeble then the others. For when in so great a Kingdom as is this of your Majesty, that so many persons of high Quality and extraordinary Merit shall see such a place as that is, to pass into the hands of a stranger ; who is there, who hath so little an opinion of himself, to believe, that he rather does
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not deserve it : and particularly in opposition to a man, with whom they have no relation, and whose manners and his good qualities are equally unknown to them ; and to whom, after all, when they shall be convinced of every thing which can be said to his advantage, they do not find themselves, by no means, disposed to do him justice. I believe for my part, that the Queen your Mother had another reason, than these that they alledge : and that it was entirely, be cause the rest of the pretenders served themselves of another Chancel than her own, to succeed in their attempt : and she foresaw, that their acknowledgments would not be to her ; and that was what she hoped to hinder by her choice. However it is, Her Majesty soon perceived so many Novelties a hatching, that although she might be wholly accustomed to them by all that had happened under the reign of the late King, she could not forbear nevertheless to be surpris'd. The beginnings did not appear to her yet much to be feared ; by reason that amongst the *Male-Contents*, who declared themselves, there was neither the *Duke of Orleans*, nor no Prince of the blood, as there was under the Ministry of the Cardinal of *Richelieu*. And yet this was the thing, in which she was deceived the most. Forasmuch as popular Commotions are often harder to appease, then those which are rais'd by some Great Person ; whom a *Grace*, made *à propos*, withdraws presently from his criminal engagement : Whereas you must set a thousand Springs a going, in regard to a *populacy*, which mutinies ; and especially then, when it is got into their heads to command.

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The *revolt*, that I shall have occasion to speak of in the sequel to your Majesty, was of this number: because the *Parliament* of *Paris* was dipt in it: Who yet now decreed the *Tutelage* of you to the Queen your Mother, with a power which was more Ample, than what the late King had given her by his declaration. But as that was done by the sollicitations of the Bishop of *Beauvois*, her Chief Almoner, who had a great number of relations there, and who by her had been made to hope for the place of *First Minister*; he no sooner saw himself deceived, but not being able to undo what he had done, he used all his power to raise up Enemies against her. Her Majesty, who had a heart that was great and worthy of her High Birth, believed, that that was but a wave, which would break of it self; and that it was not fit, that she should so much as make a shew, that she had a care of it. In the mean time, as she had in view the grandeur of your Majesty, she ordered the *Duke* of *Anguien*, who after the battle of *Rocroy* had given Elbow-room to the Garison of *Landrecy* by causing some Castles which incommoded it to be demolished, to form the siege of *Tbionville*. The *Mareschal de Quebriant*, who was on the other side of the *Rhine*, endeavoured to amuse the Enemy, to the end, that they should not be able to relieve that place. Yet *Mello*, who had got together the Fragments of the *Spanish* Army, joyned himself with General *Beck*, not to let it be taken without a blow. But the fortune of your Majesty, sustained by the valour of the *Duke* of *Anguien*, render'd their efforts unprofitable: insomuch that that Conquest, which made a noise amongst strangers, began to render
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your Majesty so illustrious, that your Allies, who were in a fear that the death of the late King should cause an alteration in your affairs, appeared to take fresh courage again.

It was by your means, that the *Swedes* maintained not only the Conquests which they had made in *Germany*, but that they added there yet others to them. The *Dutchess of Savoy* also found a means by your assistance, to retake *Trin* and *Pontesture*; which were in the possession of the *Spaniards*. But that which put the *Spaniards* into a worse pain still, was; That the Duke of *Braganza*, who had got the Crown of *Portugal* upon his head through the succour which the late King your Father had given him, maintained himself in the same to their vexation through the succour again which your Majesty continued to him. They were nothing the happier neither in *Catalonia*. Where the *Mareschal de la Motte* ran them a-ground in their designs; insomuch that that Province maintain'd it self against their power, which had revolted at the same time with *Portugal*. Your Majesty beat them also at Sea: where the Duke of *Bresé*, who commanded your Fleet, went to seek for them as far as to the Port of *Carthagena*. These Miracles are owing to the first year of your Minority: and they were blasted by nothing but by the raising of the siege of *Alexandria della Paglia*, which Prince *Thomas* had enterpris'd a little unadvisedly; and by a sedition that arose in *Rovergue*, which was quite presently dissipated. That which is again to be more wonder'd at, is this; That your Kingdom, which was not very quiet, seem'd not at all to promise events so favourable: and withal you were

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were obliged to cause the Duke of *Beaufort* to be put under an Arrest, who had conspired against your *Prime Minister*. Your first inclinations carried you to do an exemplary Justice upon him; so that you gave order to the Court of Parliament to examine into the matter. But as one sees nothing that is so Gracious as you are, you soon caused them to surcease the proceedings which they had form'd against him, and contented your self to make him expiate his crime by imprisonment.

The year 1644, which followed, was not altogether so happy, at least in the beginning. For the Army of *Mareschal de Guebriant* was defeated at *Tenteling* by the fault of those under whose Command it was left after his death. For that General who had besieged *Rotmyl* towards the end of the last year, had been wounded there with the stroke of a long Gun, of which he died in the place, some days after he had been Master of it. Upon which occasion your Majesty may reflect, of what consequence a good Commander is to you: and that as there is nothing more rare than to find such, you ought not only to have a great esteem for them, but to engage others also to follow their example. Therefore is it not a strange thing, to see the haughtiness with which the Marquis of *Louvois* deals with them, from the first to the last. It is so extraordinary, that it distastes Men of Spirit; insomuch, that your Majesty would find your self abandoned, if the love which they have for you did not prevail above their resentments. I know well, that he turns things after another manner, when he explains himself to you. He makes you to understand,

derstand, that it is, because they will not obey: and that without the rendring of them Pliant, you will never be served, as you should. But he mistakes his *Men*; and all your subjects have that affection for you, that there is not one amongst them, who does not yield you, a *blind obedience*. So if he serves himself of that pretence, it is only to cover under so fine a Cloak the ambition which devours him. He is very glad to mingle his own interest with that of your Majesty. Yet that would be highly dangerous for him under a King, who is less knowing, and less virtuous then you. For it is to possess himself insensibly of his Royal Authority; and there can need no more then so, to pave himself the way to his throne. Your Majesty does not perhaps know, that to come to honours, it is better to be his creature, than to have desert. Thus hath he a Court, which is greater then yours; and all the difference to be observed betwixt them, is, that in the one we must do a great many *meanneſſes* to succeed there; and in the other, it is enough, to be an honest man and of Note.

The great affairs, which your Majesty had then upon your hands, did not hinder you from giving sanctuary to a Princess, whom Fortune persecuted. The *English*, who were in War with their King, making it already to appear by the ill designs which they had against him, that they would carry their Attempt on to the last extremity; Your Majesty sweetned his Misfortunes in giving a retreat to the Queen, his *Consort*: and this will not be one of the *least strokes* in your History: Considering, that compassion does not reign always in the breasts of Princes; and that
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they hearken a great deal oftner to the *Politiques*, then to their duty. Though I think I may say it, and not deceive my self, that those *Politiques* are none of the best : because the same thing concerns them all ; and that if they did arm themselves to punish rebellion, it would not be so frequent, as it is, in all sorts of States. In the mean time, this is to demand an impossible thing ; and the practice almost every where is, to sink an unfortunate person, rather than to succour him.

God rewarded soon after upon the person of your Majesty, an action, that was so agreeable to him. You made your self Master of *Graveling*, notwithstanding all the obstacles which the *Spaniards* used against it, under the command of General *Picolomini* ; and your Army hindering them that they could not relieve *Germany*, you sent thither the Duke of *Anguien* ; who there gained the famous battle of *Freiburg*, where your Troops fought three days successively, to receive a perfect victory. The fruit, that you reaped from the Duke's labours besides, was the taking of *Philipsbourg*, and of all the places upon the *Rhine* in those parts : Together with this that you heartened your Allies, who were in a great consternation at that which had happened at *Tenteling*.

The house of *Austria* had her revenge in *Catalonia* ; where she beat the Mareschal *de la Motte*, who would have relieved *Lerida*, and took that place, and caused him to raise the Siege of *Taragona*, which he had formed to give a diversion. She made her self the Mistress also of *Balaguer* ; and was in a posture of reducing that Province entirely under her power, if her affairs had been
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but as well in *Portugal*: but having lost a great battle there, she was obliged to march away the Troops; and this diversion weakned her so very much, that she could enter upon nothing more all the Campagne.

The Campagne of *Italy* was not neither very happy to you, after divers transactions, in which the *Spaniards*, as well as your Majesty, experienced sometimes a good and sometimes a scurvy fortune.

Your Army was obliged to raise the siege of *Final*. But you succeeded better in the prosecution of your rights at *Rome*; where they endeavoured to give you trouble in the person of your Ambassadour. They were obliged in that Country also to have all due consideration for the protection, which you granted to the Duke of *Parma*; whom the *Pope* had dispossessed of the Dutchy of *Castro* for the sole reason that it was for his convenience: So that here by your Mediation you set a great many Princes at Peace, who had taken part in that quarrel.

All these great things were not enough to take up your whole mind. You made work for the *Emperor*; who endeavoured to do the same for your Allies: and seeing that he set the *Danes* in Arms against the *Swede*, you not only returned him like for like in raising the Prince of *Transilvania* against him; but you sent also an Ambassador to those two Crowns to hinder that their differences should not go on too far. And as you were not of an humour to give that Counsel to others, which you would not willingly follow your self; you consented to treat of a general peace at *Munster*, where they were begun to
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assemble with a design to put an end to so great a work.

Your Mediation was received by the Northern Crowns in spite of the traverses of the house of *Austria*, who endeavoured to render it suspected : and your Ministers finding out a notable way to pacifie their differences employed themselves in it to that purpose, that a peace was concluded betwixt them. The *Swedes* being thus delivered of the disquiet ; which that War had created them you ordered the Viscount of *Turenne*, whom you had sent the year before into *Germany* to take the command of the Army of the Marechal de *Guebriant*, to act in consort with them. But although he was a great Commander, he was defeated at *Mariendal* ; and it was not possible with the utmost of his power to hinder it. This was in the beginning of the Campagne of the year 1645 : for which you quickly had your revenge almost in all the parts, where you had Soldiers. You took *Rosas* in *Catalonia* : whither you had sent the Count de *Harcourt* in the place of the Marechal de *la Motte* : whom you had put under an Arrest, not only for the faults that he committed the last Campagne ; but also because to excuse himself, he endeavoured to blast the reputation of your *First Minister* ; whom he accused to be the cause of the ill success which he had had, by his suffering him to want every thing. But it is not just that one should justify himself so, at the cost of another ; at least unless the thing be as clear as the day. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to succour *Rosas* : but the Count de *Harcourt* having hinder'd their passage, while the Count of *Plessis Pralin* wrought the conquest of it, they

they attempted to throw relief into it by Sea ; where they found the same difficulty, upon the account of your Fleet, that rode Master there. Your Majesty, who takes a delight to recompense men of merit, sent the Staff of a Marechal of France to the Count du Plissis after that conquest : which was followed by a defeat of the Spaniards in the Plain of Liorens, and the retaking of Balaguer : So that all these happy successes defaced the memory of the unhappy, which had passed in that Country the Campagne before.

The Duke of Anguien, whom you sent again this present year into Germany, revenged in a little time the Viscount of Turenne there in defeating the Enemy at Nordlingen ; whilst the Duke of Orleans in Flanders took the Fort of Mardike, and Linck, and Bourbourg, from them. Your Majesty augmented those Conquests with others of St. Venant, Lillers, Armentieres, and Bethune : and you caused the Fortrefs of La Motte to be razed ; from whence you had a pretty deal of difficulty to drive away the Troops of the Duke of Lorain, to whom it served for a retreat to commit a thousand robberies.

If Prince Thomas had been able to maintain the conquest which he made of the City and Castle of Vigevano, he would have signaliz'd the glory of your arms in Italy also. But it was impossible for him to oppose himself to the great efforts there of the Enemy, in which they retook that place. The Emperor on his side sent so strong an army upon the Rhine, that he re-conquered all the places, which he had lost, except Philipsbourg. Which perhaps would never have come to pass, had the Duke of Anguien been still at the head of

your Majesties Forces : But he was fallen sick, and returned to *Paris*. The Viscount of *Turenne* in the mean time went to take *Treves* : Which your Majesty restored again to its own Prince to whom you were pleased to be so kind ; as to cause him to be set at liberty from an Imprisonment he had been long under. For your Majesty hath at all times been the refuge of the unfortunate ; and it was well seen in the case of the *Barberines* ; to whom in this same conjuncture you granted a retreat, though all *Europe* thought them unworthy of it by the War which they had kindled in *Italy*, with which that Country was in danger to be ruined. Only it was enough for you, that they were persecuted, that they should enjoy the honour of your Protection : and the Prince of *Monaaco* being well assured of the same, he threw himself into the arms of your Majesty, and quitted the party of *Spain* which he had ever followed till now.

The year 1646. was likewise full of great occurrences. Your Majesty took, for the second time, the Fort of *Mardike* ; which the Enemy had possessed themselves of at the end of the Campaign : and together with this, your taking of *Furnes* and *Dunkirk* struck such a great alarm throughout all *Flanders*, that it believed it self lost without remedy. The Viscount of *Turenne* on the other hand penetrated as far as into the heart of *Germany* : which let the Emperor see, that it was better for him to make a Peace, than to rely upon the discourses of the *Spaniards* ; who endeavoured to perswade him, that your Majesty would never be able to sustain in your Minority the great affairs which you had upon your hands.

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And now your Minister committed a thing which it is not fit to pardon in him, upon the account that it was not in the least to the advantage of your Majesty, and that the interests of the State were far less considered in it than those of his own. He married one of his Kinswomen to a Nephew of the *Barberines*: and this Alliance disposing him to do every thing for them, he carried the War upon the borders of *Tuscany*, and caused *Orbitelle* to be besieged there: wherein his design was to mortifie the Great Duke, who was, as to the *Barbarines*, their Capital Enemy. But all *Italy* being alarmed at the Action, it assisted the *Spaniards* to raise the Siege; who effected it, notwithstanding your Fleet had repulsed that of the Enemy. The success of your Arms at *Piombino* and *Porto Longone* made this loss to be forgotten: But the joy which there was upon that occasion was disturbed by the raising of the Siege of *Lerida*, in which the Count *d'Har-ville* spent seven months in vain.

The Protection that your Majesty had granted to the *Barberines* was so advantageous to them, that the Pope restored them to their Estates again, which had before been seized by his order. And the Cardinal of *Este* was sensible also of the honour that you did him in embracing his Interests: Because without that, he could not have had his satisfaction of the Admiral of *Castile*, who took the liberty to insult him in the midst of the City of *Rome*. You were really at that time the Protector of the Unfortunate; and you let the *Venetians* see as much, when you sent an Ambassador to the Great *Turk* in their favour to dissuade him from the War which he pretended to bring upon them.

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them. The consideration that he had for your Majesty induced him to promise all things. But as Interest carries it above promises, when one hath to do with the *Barbarians*, he soon forgot those, when he saw that that Republick was not in a Condition to make its defence.

The year 1647, is remarkable for the small Pox, which seized your Majesty and put you in great danger. However we were delivered of our fears from thence: and it only served to make the greatness of your Soul appear, whilest you asked Pardon for one of your Officers, whom the Queen your Mother had turned out upon a suspicion she had of his bringing the infection to your Majesty. What a loss had it been for *France*, if that sickness had had the consequences, as were apprehended? And what a happiness had it been for the *Spaniards*? For those, to whom, as young as you yet were, you discovered at every turn the weight of your arm: Whereat they were so astonished, that they sent into *Flanders* the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, in hopes that the grandeur of his Birth giving him more of emulation than others had who had preceded him in the government of those Provinces, he would make a better head against your Majesty. And as he did not come into that Country without a good army, he retook *Armentieres*, *Landrecy*, and *Dixmuyde*. But you took from him *La Bassée* and *Lens*: at which last place you lost the *Marschal de Gassion*, who was there mortally wounded. Your Majesty, who had been upon the Frontier in Person the last year, was again there this; and inspir'd Courage into your Soldiers, with the marks of your bounty, which you gave them. Yet the
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Power of the Arch-Duke hindring you from making any great Conquests there, your Majesty had an occasion to console your self from the good success which your Arms obtained in *Germany*: Where they obliged the Duke of *Bavaria* to accept of a Neutrality, as the Duke of *Saxony* had done sometime before: so that the Emperor would have concluded a peace at the same time, if the *Spaniards* had not hindred him from it. Whose reasons for so doing were founded upon this, that there appeared already some sparks of that Civil War, into which we fell soon after. But the Evil that they wished to us, happened to themselves the first; and there arose a revolt at *Naples*, which embarassed them strangely.

Your Majesty gathered up all your forces, and caused a good fleet to be set out to carry succour to that place. But the Duke of *Guise*, who had thrown himself into it, being willing to act there independently of your Majesty, the Cardinal *Mazarine*, who did not love him, took occasion from thence to make the Fleet retire again, without furnishing him with any thing which was necessary for him. One knows not how to excuse this, because it was a very great fault to let an opportunity escape that was so seasonable. If your Majesty had not been then perfectly in your Minority, you had been much better served. However the Duke of *Guise* bore up things with a great deal of prosperity and courage: whilst the Duke of *Anguien*, who had taken the name of the Prince of *Conde* by the death of his father, beheld those Laurels blasted, which he had gathered in *Flanders* and *Germany*, in the little success that he had before *Lerida*, in his besieging of that place.

I wish I could pass over the year 1648. in silence. A year, which was fatal to our Monarchy, and in which the greatest part of your subjects began to fail in their obedience to you. Your Majesty knows, that the pretext which they took up for it was the number of the taxes, that were put upon them. But, that the true cause was, the ambition of the Parliament ; who intended by that means, to enlarge their power ; beginning with a desire to examine into every thing which your Majesty did in your Cabinet : and though you forbade them to assemble themselves upon any other occasion than to give judgment in the *processes* of your subjects, yet they had no regard to your commands. They gave out *Arrests* against the Edicts, which the necessity of your affairs required you to publish: and this cast the kingdom into such a strange conjuncture, that the Arch-Duke took *Furnes*, *Ettere*, and *Lens*. • The Prince of *Conde*, whom your Majesty sent against him, had taken *Ypres* in the beginning of the Campaign: and now he retook *Ettere*, and gave and won of the Arch-Duke the Battle of *Lens*. Which successes added a New force to your Majesty ; and you served your self of the same to repress the sedition at home. You caused the Heads of the Rebels to be taken into custody, as they came from the *Te Deum* they had sung at the Church of *Noftredame* to give thanks to God for the Victory of *Lens*. But that vigorous action, instead of having the success which you had reason to hope for from it, carried the rebellion to a point as became a matter of a surprize to you. The *Parisians* took up arms in favour of the prisoners ; and having made *Barricadoes* along all the streets,

streets, as far as within 100 paces of your Palace, they obliged you to set them again at liberty. I *draw the Curtain* over a thing so disagreeable to you, and so shameful to the memories of them. If the Queen had but been believed, she would never have consented to it : for she maintained, it was to give a blemish to your authority, which was a matter of a terrible consequence. I presume she was in the right : and in reality that condescendence served only to increase the audaciousness of the faction : so that they did not make it long, before they went upon other demands anew. However it was, it did not hinder but the Emperor concluded a peace with your Majesty : who after having gained the battle of *Sommerhausen*, had reduced both him and those who had taken up arms with him into such a condition, that they were undone without that peace.

You took a care there of the interests of your Allies, whom the *Spaniards* by their intrigues had endeavoured to divide from you. But that which was more fine and more remarkable, is, that you there shew your self a Protector of the *Catholick* Religion, although all your Allies were Protestants, and that that was enough to embroil you with them. The Emperor on the contrary had no regard but to his Interests ; and forgot entirely those of Religion ; whereof he had many times however made a shew during the course of the War. But there is a great deal of difference betwixt deeds and words : which teaches us, that in order not to be deceived, it is much better to refer our selves to the one than the other.

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This Treaty, in which your Majesty shew your self more firm to the interests of your Allies than to your own, acquired you the Amity of all the Princes of the Empire, who began to regard you as their Protector. They now no longer feared, that the Emperor should destroy their Liberties; nor that there should arise in that throne Princes, who after the example of *Charles the 5th.* should undertake to subdue them. How hath the Marquis of *Louven* been to blame to disturb a Harmony, which was so necessary for the one, and the other! and by the means whereof the Emperor could never entertain hopes to any good purpose! It is to be said, that it must be, that the imprudence of that Minister hath been very great, when notwithstanding the just jealousies which all the Empire ought to conceive of the puissance of his Imperial Majesty, he hath so very ill treated all the Princes, the Members, that they are all ready to reunite themselves against your Majesty. Yet many of the Politicians are amazed at this: and pretend, that having much more to fear from the Emperor's side than yours, they therefore make their choice ill. But to be of their opinion, it is fit, that one should not know of the things which your Minister exacts of those Princes continually. He says no more to them, than that he hath the staff in his hand: And as Sovereigns are not accustomed to be treated in that manner, they believe, that if they have *Whisks* to avoid, they are those as are presented to them by so harsh a hand as his.

Your Majesty carried again the War into *Italy*, notwithstanding the great affairs which you had in the heart of your own State. But the *Spaniards*

and having made the Duke of Guise a Prisoner, and pacified the troubles of Naples, they caused the Duke of Modena to rise from before Cremona, which he had laid siege to, after he had entred into the interests of your Majesty. Yet they failed in a design which they had upon Marseilles : where they pretended to burn your Shipping that was in the Port, and possess themselves of the Town ; in which they had several Burghers, who were in a correspondence with them. Your Majesty, to whom this was of the highest consequence, caused such as were of the most Criminal of those to be punished, and pardoned the others ; to the end that by your Goodness they should be induced not to fail in the obedience which was due to you. But the continual incroachments of the Parliament being of an ill example to those who were of themselves ill inclined, they lost the respect that was due to you in several places. And the same was the occasion, that the Dutch, whom your Majesty after the example of the King your Father and of Henry the 4th of Glorious Memory had succoured against the Spaniards, did now joyn themselves with them.

Your Majesty for all this sustained the War again in Catalonia with great reputation. You forced the Enemy to raise the siege which they had laid to Flix ; and you made your self Master of Tortosa, in the view of an Army commanded by Mello, who was passed out of Flanders hither. Your glory, which would have been at the highest pitch but for the rebellion of your Subjects, increased it self still admirably by the victory, which your Fleet obtained in the Mediterranean ; whilst it was much inferiour to that of the Enc-

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my : for it consisted but of 29 Ships ; whereas theirs was a fleet of 42. For this inequality did not hinder, but you sunk three of them ; and if the night had not come in, there was reason to fear for them, that they would have lost more.

So many great affairs might have been sufficient to take up your mind. But as it is always bent upon the good of your State, you carried it to what passed also in *Poland* : where the fame of your name surmounted the intrigues of the *Spaniards*, who would have had a King elected there, who was in their interests. But they were disappointed of their aim ; and *Casimir*, who was the Brother of the late King, was preferred to him that they proposed, for which he had all the obligation to your Majesty.

C H A P. II.

An Account of what passed from the War of Paris, to the Peace of the Pyrenees.

THE enterprises of the *Parliament* increased still every day, notwithstanding the continual care which your Majesty used to repress them; it would have been a weakness to dissemble them longer, which made you resolve to punish them. So you withdrew out of your City of *Paris*, which was dipt in the Rebellion: and having retired your self to *St. Germain en Laye*, you ordered *Paris* to be block'd up by your Army out of *Flanders*, commanded by the Prince of *Conde*. This punishment upon them ought to have made the Mutineers to return to their duty gain: but their confidence was so great as well as their disobedience, that after having excited the other Cities of the Kingdom to take their part, they trusted themselves upon their own strength to resist your Majesty. Their party reached up as high as to the *Coadjutor*, who forgetting his character raised a Regiment against you. The Duke of *Beaufort*, who had escaped out of Prison, was in like manner one of your most cruel Enemies. The Prince of *Conti*, the Brother of the Prince of *Condé*, took up arms against your Majesty. The Dutchess of *Longueville*, his Sister, with the Duke her Husband sided with the Parliament: and drew with her thither by her beauty the Prince of *Marillac*,
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who was much more inflamed with that, than with any desire he had to signalize his disobedience to you. But that passion which blinds one to a degree that one does not know ones own self, made him forget the respect which he always had for your Majesty; and in which he ought to have been yet better instructed than others, because he had an infinite deal of Wit.

This was not the only mischief that Love did to your Majesty. The jealousy which the Prince of *Marillac* had of the Husband of that Princess, joyned with the fear that he should come to discover his amour, made him that he gave him no quiet till he was gone into *Normandy*; where he caused that Province, of which he was the Governor, to revolt. See how this Passion sets the springs on work, which are attributed oftentimes to ambition for want of searching of them up to the head. But it is very dangerous, and at the same time very blameable, when it makes us to fail in what we owe to *our Master*; to whom we are tied so fast, that we cannot be unfaithful to him without being at the same time unfaithful to God.

The Blockade of *Paris* had not all the effect with it, which your Majesty expected: and though that great City suffered extraordinarily, the Parliament kept it in such a mighty aversion to your Minister, that it dared to demand of you his Removal, before they would lay down their arms. Which insolent proposition was accompanied with others of the same nature. But as the resolution of those mutinous people was not answerable to the hopes which they had conceived of giving the Law to your Majesty, they took

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their recourse to the Enemies of the State to procure bread for them when they were in want of it. For your Troops had locked up the City so close, that bread was at an excessive price there: and without a speedy succour, they were ready to fall into a strange necessity.

Your Majesty could not but be sensibly touched to observe upon them such dreadful marks of their Rebellion: and as it was a thing of a great consequence to you in the sad conjuncture that then was not to suffer an Enemy to enter into the heart of your State, you made one step which brought the Parliament to recollect themselves. You sent to them a Herald at arms to offer them some propositions: and assembling themselves thereupon, they thought to repair in some sort what had been done by them in returning that Herald back again without hearing him: Assuring your Majesty at the same time, that the audience, which they had refused to give him, did not proceed but from the profound respect which they had for you: because it did not belong to them to receive such a person, who was never sent but to *Sovereigns*.

This return to their duty afforded matter to your Majesty to exhort them to do better for the future, than they had done in the time past; and the conjuncture requiring that you should dissemble the enormous encroachments which they had made upon your authority, you granted an *Amnesty* to them, and to those who had taken part with them.

The Enemy did not fail of making an advantage of these disorders. The Duke of *Lorain*, whom the King, your Father, had driven out of his

his Country for having many times deceiv'd him in the promises which he had made to him, enter'd into it again with an army, and made himself the master of several towns. He was even as it were sure of retaking of *Nanci*: from whence the *Marquis de la Fertè* had diverted the provisions by his avarice. But that Marquis, who saw that the Duke made head thither, came quickly into the place; and caused all the Crop to be brought into it, which was to be had thereabouts. By which means he remedy'd that evil, which he was in danger to be the cause of: and your Majesty as well as all other Monarchs have an occasion to reflect from thence; that when a subject prefers so his particular interest to theirs, he is not only unworthy of the favours which they might have a mind to do him; but they likewise are responsible for the evils, which from thence arrive to their people. For it is easie to see, how much those suffer by the authority of persons of this nature, who ruine a hundred thousand others to enrich themselves. Yet this conjuncture did not permit your Majesty to settle all the order therein, which you would have done at another time. Besides that that Marquis conducted himself so discreetly in some actions, that his prudence and his courage made his avarice in some sort to be forgotten.

The enterprizes of the Parliament did not yet cease, although your Majesty had had the goodness to pardon them. Yet they were not so strange neither, as were those of the *Parliament of England*: who were such felons, as to cause their King to be beheaded. One never saw your Majesty in such a passion, as when you were told that

that News. But the great affairs, which you then had, hinder'd you from punishing so black an Attempt. You found your self enough embarrassed to oppose the *Arch-Duke* ; who retook *Tpres* and *St. Venant*, whilst the Count *d'Harcourt* was besieging of *Cambray*. This Action did not succeed well with the Count : who having been obliged to raise the siege, attack'd *Conde* and took it upon composition. *Maubenge* opened its gates to him after that : so that the Enemy would not have had overmuch to glory in, if they had not carried their affairs better in *Catalonia*.

The distance of that Province, whither your Majesty could not send your Troops but at a great charge, having not permitted you to make up those which had been lost there in the last year, the Enemy possessed themselves of *Constantine*, *Salo*, and *Sirges*. But the Count *de Marcin* broke their measures touching *Barcelona*, which they pretended they would seize on in like manner. In *Italy* your affairs received also a considerable check. The Duke of *Modena*, who had a fear that the War of *Paris* had put you out of a condition to give him the succour which he stood in need of, abandoned your side : which was followed by the loss of several important posts, that had cost a great deal of pains and a great many men.

But it was a thing of more importance to your Majesty to re-establish a Calm in your own Kingdom, than to preserve the Conquests which were so far off. For which reason after having reduced the City of *Paris* to their obedience, and provided sufficiently for the frontier of *Picardy* against the threats of the Enemy, all your design

was only to reduce *Provence* and *Guyenne*, where there were seditions arisen after the example of the *Metropolis* of that Kingdom. Your Majesty brought about your design successfully: and as you had had the good fortune to divert a storm, which was gathering upon the frontier of *Germany*, where the Viscount of *Turenne* at the solicitation of his Brother endeavoured to debauch the Troops which he commanded there; Your Kingdom would have resumed its former lustre, if the Prince of *Conde* had not set so high a price upon the services which he had done your Majesty, that it was impossible for you to satisfy him.

His ambition did not permit him to suffer without murmuring the refusal, which you had made him of some favours. He forced others from you in the behalf of his relations; who had notwithstanding carried arms against your Majesty and who were more worthy in that respect of a punishment, than a reward. Yet prudence required, that you should dissemble all these incroachments in which it was dangerous for you to oppose him, because of the credit that his great actions had acquired him amongst the men of the Sword. The intelligence which he kept up elsewhere with a certain people to whom they gave the name of *Frondeurs*, because they declared themselves in every thing and in every place against your Majesty, obliged you to proceed very prudently in the just resentment that animated you against him. But your *Minister* having found out a means to sow a disunion amongst those by an *Italian* trick, which could not have been pardonable but because it secured the liberty of your state, you were resolved upon

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on it to have that Prince *Arrested*, and it was what was executed accordingly with a great deal of Policy.

Your *Minister* was in such a fear in the mean time lest you should miss your blow, that he kept himself ready booted for to be gone the same hour. But the success having answered his expectations, he took heart again; and then there was nothing more to do but to hinder the consequences which might arise upon so bold a stroke. And your Majesty provided against those by doing two things, which were altogether necessary. The one was, to give your people an account of the just reasons which you had to have the Prince to be secured: the other to go your self in Person thither where he appeared to have the most friends, and where by consequence there was the greatest probability of a revolt.

What an excellent thing, Sir, is Prudence! Your Majesty was accused presently of being wanting in your acknowledgments to a subject, who had done you such great services. Your Minister in like manner passed for an ingrateful person in the opinion of all your people, who knew that without the Prince it had been difficult for him to have sheltered himself from the hatred of the *Parisians* and the Parliament. But when they understood, that his services had been recompensed with the Office of the *Grand Master of the Household* to your Majesty, the governments of *Bourgogne*, *Bury*, and *Guyenne*, and the propriety of the *Demefnes* of *Clermont*, *Stenay* and *Jammets*; with *Pont de l'Arche* and *Diepe*, which he had procured to be given to the Duke of *Longueville*; with *Danvilliers*, and the government of *Chsmi-*

Pagne, for the Prince of *Conti*; and an infinite number of other favours, as well for himself as for his creatures; there was no body but *turned the tables*, and who did not openly say that if there was any one who was ungrateful it could not be other than the Prince of *Conde*.

The progress which you took first into *Normandy*, afterwards into *Bourgogne*, and from thence into *Guyenne*, served also to pacifie those Provinces; in which the Creatures of the Prince, supported by the friends of the Prince of *Conti* and the Duke of *Longueville* whom you had likewise caused to be taken up, endeavoured to animate the people against your Majesty. You did not judge it to the purpose to go your self into *Berry*: where the danger did not appear to be so great by reason that that Province is locked up within the middle of the Kingdom, and that it could not admit of the succours of the *Spaniards* who kept themselves upon the watch at so many favourable occurrences for them. You sent the Count of *St. Agnan* thither, who preserved it in the obedience that it owed to you: but yet he did not find himself strong enough to drive the Marquis of *Persan* out of *Montrond*, a strong place which belonged to the Prince of *Conde*.

How agreeable had it been to your Majesty, if you could have given order as easily for all the other parts, for which there was any reason to fear also? But how again should that be in the in the midst of so many affairs which burdened you, and under which another person would have sunk? The Viscount of *Turenne*, who had drawn hard by the *Arch-Duke*, after having missed of his aim, came to *Stenay*: where the
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love which he took to the Dutches of *Longueville* did not hinder him from desiring to enter into the Kingdom at the head of an Army, which he raised with the Money that the Arch-Duke lent him and the Jewels of his Mistress which he put in pawn amongst the Jews at *Metz*. He pretended, during this time of disorder and confusion, to find a means to get into *Sedan*: which the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Brother, had given to the late King for saving of his Life, when it was in great danger upon the account that he had enter'd into the treaty of *Madrid*. So he drew near to that place: where he hoped that the remembrance of his Ancestors would find friends for him. But every body kept themselves in their duty: and as it was a place well provided, and had a brave man in it who commanded there with a good Garison, he was obliged to turn his arms another way.

If I may be permitted to make some reflexions upon his attempt, it seems to me that it was very ill founded: or at least, that the inhabitants of that City would have chosen but ill, to prefer the government of his House before that of your Majesty. For really it is an unhappiness for people to be under the obedience of small Princes: who not being in a condition upon their own power to secure their fortune, are under a continual obligation to have recourse to the power of others. By which means those who are subject to them find themselves exposed without interruption to the miseries of War: as if they should seem to be made for nothing, but to be a prey to the one and the other. Whereas one is out of all fear, when one is under the govern-

ment of a great King: who if there arises any storm, makes no delay to dissipate it.

It was not only your frontier of *Champagne* which was threatned, but that of *Picardy* found the same also. The *Spaniards* appeared there with an army: and having made themselves Masters of *Catelet* and *la Chapelle*, they attempted *Guise*: upon which they thought it convenient not to lose time, because they were willing to joyn the *Arch Duke*. and the *Viscount of Turenne* who were enter'd into *Champagne*. The *Viscount of Turenne*, who knew already the best way to take, advanced as far as to *la Ferté Milon* with a design to come and rescue the Prince of *Conde* who was at *Vincennes*. But your Majesty having broken his measures by ordering that Prince to be removed to *Marcouffis*, and from thence to *Havre de Grace*, he was obliged to go and rejoyne the *Arch Duke* who had possessed himself of *Rhetel* and some other places.

Champagne groaning under the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, who put every thing there to fire and sword, took up arms and strengthened the forces of *Mareschal du Pleffis* whom your Majesty had sent to have a care of that frontier. With this succour he believed he was able to retake *Rhetel*: and having laid siege to it, the *Arch-Duke* resolved to make him raise it again. This was a *deciding Cast* for your Majesty: to whom the defeat of your army had been of a strange consequence. Nevertheless it being impossible for you any longer to see the Enemy in the heart of your state, you sent the *Cardinal Mazarine* to that *Mareschal* to order, according to the information which he should give himself of your forces, either a bat-
tle

tle or a retreat. The fear which was natural to him so long as there was any danger, made him to be of an opinion at first that it was good to hazard nothing. But the Mareschal *du Plessis* letting him see the consequences which would be of giving such a testimony of weakness, the fight was resolved upon in a Council of War in the presence of that Minister.

So the Mareschal *du Plessis* having raised the Siege of *Rhetel*, marched towards the Enemy; who had just augmented their Troops with the conjunction of those of the Duke of *Lorain*. The fight was rude and obstinate on one side and the other. But God gave you in it a Victory so entire, that the Viscount of *Turenne* was obliged to fly with 17 persons with him, abandoned by all his Troops: For the Arch-Duke was run away the first, and had left him alone to clear up the business. It wanted but a little, or he had been taken in the long retreat which he had to make, and in which he was pursued briskly. But having defended his life and his liberty at the expence of those who had attack'd him, he made his escape to *Bar-le-Duc*: where they imagined to see him as he was coming that he was cut in several places, he was so covered with blood: But it was found, that it was but the blood of your faithful subjects which had spurted upon him.

Your Majesty received the News of this Victory with a joy not to be expressed. And having sent the Staff of a Mareschal of *France* to the Marquisses of *d'Aumont*, *d'Hoquincourt*, and *la Ferté*, who had extremly distinguished themselves in that fight, it was an occasion of exciting others to

follow their example. There is nothing which animates more your Gentry, than the honours which you give them: and the *French* are made of that temper, that they will sacrifice a thousand lives, if they had them, for the service of their King, when they have a good word from him or that he advances them to some dignity.

This is also the reason why your Majesty is so beloved by your Subjects. You, who have the secret, even in refusing, to make, that one shall be obliged by you in the manner that you refuse. For a Prince is not only to have the faculty to cause himself to be feared, but also that of making himself to be loved. Indeed fear without love degenerates soon into defiance: being apt to lead one to apprehend, whether he who is to be both a Father and a Master all in one may not become a Tyrant: and this suspicion is so dangerous to impress, that there is nothing that a King ought not to do rather than he should ever create it amongst his people.

If the party which the Prince of *Conde* had in *France* did so much prejudice to your Majesty upon the Frontiers of *Picardy* and *Champagne*, they yet did you more in *Italy*: where it was impossible for you to relieve *Piombino* and *Portolongone*, which by that means fell again under the power of *Spain*. Your Majesty, to whom the conservation of *Catalonia* was of a greater importance, sent thither the Duke of *Merceur*: who seized upon the Count of *Marcin*, a Creature of the Prince of *Conde*; and one who did his utmost endeavour to debauch the Troops which you had in that Country. This precaution saved *Barcelona*, with which the Enemy entertained some correspondence,

dence, having it much at their hearts to recover that place. But as the Duke of *Mercœur* was no great Captain, and that on the other side the state of your affairs did not permit you to give him any great succour, every thing languished in that Country and your reputation began there to fall away mightily.

One cannot however impute the ill choice to your Majesty, which had been made of that General. It was an intrigue of Court, that obliged you to prefer him to a many other more experienced Soldiers. And your Minister being become friends again with the Duke of *Beaufort*, whose eldest Son that General was, it was fitting for him to do his share of those favours which they had agreed on by that reconciliation. Besides which, the Cardinal *Mazarine* thought of getting him to marry one of his Nieces: and upon that account he chose much rather to advance him than another. Your Majesty was as yet too young to apprehend the prejudice which you received from hence: and how dangerous a thing it is, when a Minister prefers his own interests so to those of his Master. But thanks be to God, your Eyes needed no long time to be opened upon so nice a subject: and never any Prince hath known better than you, how to give to persons the employs that are proper for them.

This was not the only fault which the Cardinal *Mazarine* did. The desire that he had to be the only *all-powerful* person in the Kingdom, made him seek to amuse those that he had to do with in order to destroy the Prince of *Conde*. The Bishop of *Langres*, a favourite of the Duke of *Orleans*, not being suffered to know upon what
account

account it was that the Prince had been taken up, would never forgive him it from that time since. But joyning himself with others who envied the fortune of that Minister, they enter'd into intrigues to destroy him.

The Parliament, who were willing by all sort of force to encrease their authority and were persuaded that your Minority was the proper time for so doing, enter'd upon it. So they held several Counsels upon that subject: in which it was resolved to demand of your Majesty the enlargement of the Prince of *Conde* and his Brothers, with the expulsion of Cardinal *Mazarine*. Your Majesty opposed your self against this with a resolution which was worthy of your great heart. But the Duke of *Orleans*, your Uncle being at the head of those who sought the destruction of that Minister, and all the orders of the Kingdom appearing to be of the same sentiment, you were obliged in Policy to yield to them, though in your mind you could not approve of it.

Cardinal *Mazarine* seeing that he was forced to be gone out of the Kingdom, was willing to make a compliment to the Prince of *Conde* of his enlargement. He went to wait upon him at *Havre de Grace*: and brought him a Letter under the *Signet*, which was antedated to that, that they had been obliged to expedite before for his departure. The Prince, who by *Perraut* the Comptroller of his house, (who had had the permission to go to see him under the pretence of a last will of the Princess his Mother) was informed what Wheels there were set on work to get him out of prison, attributed to those the Civility which the *Cardinal* shew in coming to tell him the

the good news himself. But had he not been inclined to do so, yet it had been impossible for him not to have suspected as much at all the protestations which the Cardinal made of friendship to him, and the submittances that he used in asking for himself the friendship of the *Prince*.

The Prince of *Conde* fell into no passion at all with him: whether it was that he judged him not to be worth his anger, or that the joy that he had to see himself at liberty sweetened the resentments which he had of his confinement. Cardinal *Mazarine* retired to the house of the Elector of *Cologne*: Whilest the Prince came again to *Paris*; where he was received as it were in triumph, though they had made bonfires there too throughout all the City at the time that he was taken into custody. But the inconstancy of the people hath been always such, unless one knows how to fix them by an esteem in which one never gives them occasion to bely themselves. For at the moment that one goes aside either to the right hand or the left, they return again immediately to their inclination. And so the Prince who had been adored by this people, whilst he fought with so much reputation against the Enemies of your state, had lost their favours no less then when he took up arms against *Paris*. In which however they neither were just themselves, neither did they do justice to the Prince: because all that he had acted was in obedience to the orders of your Majesty in punishing of their felony, which was so great, that they deserved to be no otherwise treated, than as the cruelest of your Enemies.

The Parliament passed divers *Arrests* against your Minister, without consulting in any manner your Majesty. They caused a publick sale to be made of his Library. They set a price upon his head; and did a thousand other things of that kind, which your Majesty in prudence dissembled; because it had been a mighty error to stand against a torrent which was no less furious than those are, which we see fall from the Mountains with such rapidity.

Your Majesty pardoned in the mean time the Viscount of *Turenne*; who having acknowledged his fault, came to beg it of you. The Prince of *Conde* found himself very strong after this. But the oversight which your Minister had committed in not keeping his word with those who had been of the side with him for the securing of that Prince, not being an example that was powerful enough to hinder the Prince from falling into the same error, he began to despise his friends. The Viscount of *Turenne* was one of those who had the experience of it the first. For having desired him to give order for good Winter Quarters for some Troops which belonged as it were to him, though your Majesty paid them, the Prince took no notice of what he said. He understood also, that the Prince rallied him upon the love which he had taken to his Sister; and that he made a mirth of it amongst those who were the most in her favour; Which touched him to the quick. So that he came and waited upon the Queen your Mother, and promised her, that nothing in the world should be able to make him fall again into the error which he had committed: that for the future he would do every thing which was convenient

nient to deface the memory of it : and that her Majesty might depend upon his fidelity.

He said as much to you too, and obliged the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Brother, to make the same protestation to you: Which example shews us, how dangerous a thing *raillery* is, and to what it transports a *high spirit* : but that this reflexion is impertinent to your Majesty, who never speaks an ill thing of any body ; and when you make mention of your greatest Enemies, it is by the way of the good that you know of them. One must not neither presume to slander any person before you: in which your Majesty is very much in the right : because it is almost the same thing to make a slander, and to approve of it.

The Prince of *Conde* committed another error which was considerable. He had promised the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Dutcheß of *Chevreuse*, and the *Coadjutor*, that for security that their interests should be the same for the time to come, the Prince of *Conti* should marry the Daughter of that Dutcheß. This promise which he had made in the time that he was in Prison, not being thought sufficient by the Dutcheß because it might seem to be forced, she went to wait upon him and acquitted him of it. But he told her, that if it was but only for the civility which she used, he desired the thing should be done. So by this he was doubly obliged. But as his Temper carried him not to be dependant on any body, he neither remember'd himself soon after any more of that obligation, nor even did the least civility to bring himself well off.

In the mean time your Majesty, who could not approve that they had forced you to part
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with your Minister, set every thing on foot to make him to return again handsomely, and without occasioning of any troubles in your Kingdom. But the aversion which they had to him, joyned with the *Arrests* that they had passed for the excluding of all strangers from the Ministry, was what would have made that thing difficult, though there had been nothing of the unhappy conduct of the Prince, which encreased rather than diminished. For being pressed by the Prince of *Conti* who was inflamed for *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*, to consent to his marriage, he told him, that he would do nothing in it; and he was not willing that he should fair any better with the *Coadjutor*, or the *Marquisses* of *Laicques* and *Canmartin*.

Those three persons saw Her often; and there was no need of any thing more from the Prince of *Conti* to make her believe that what he said was true. He retired himself from her the same hour: doing violence to his love, and declaring *de bonne foi* to all the world, that he was much obliged to the Prince his Brother, for having held him back from a precipice into which he was a going to throw himself. Which expression being reported again to *Madam de Chevreuse*, and to those who were concerned to espouse her interest, it contributed more towards the return of your Minister than all that your Majesty had been able to do. So true it is, that fortune furnishes us with chances beyond our expectation, and that those carry it above all the prudence of men in the World. The Dutchesse of *Chevreuse*, whose Cabal was strong, offer'd to your Majesty to employ her friends to facilitate the return of your Minister. In the mean time as you was
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enter'd upon your fourteenth year, you was declared of age; and went in person to the Parliament to have that declaration to be register'd there. You carried at the same time with you two Edicts: which will serve as testimonies to Posterity of your devotion towards God, and your love towards your People. The first was against the *Blasphemers of his holy Name*: the other against *Duels*; which you swore you would cause to be executed so punctually, that to the end that one should not importune you upon that subject you took the Holy Gospels to witness, that you would never recede from your Oath.

Neither did you do in this as a great many to whom there needs no more than the space of a few days to make them lose the remembrance of their promises. For ten or twelve years after, some persons of the greatest honour amongst your Gentry having gone contrary to that Edict, you would have made them have served as an example to others, if they had not taken their courses to get out of the Kingdom. And that which is to be observed farther upon it, is; that the *Pope* intreated you for them, and would have absolved you from your Oath. And yet the tenderness of your Conscience did not give you leave to grant him what he desir'd of you: Because you believed that if they could so find a means of obtaining their pardon with you, it would be to encourage that disorder which you propos'd to expel with all your force: and you would not besides, that it should be said, that recommendations had a greater power over you than justice.

Your Majesty, who could not endure that your people should give you the Law in the affair of
your

Minister, withdrew your self out of *Paris* the second time. The Duke of *Orleans* your Uncle, whom the Bishop of *Langres* turned at all times to his humour, would not follow you no more than the Prince; from whom he conceived some days after a *Panick* fear, that he should be taken into custody. So he went out of the City: and being gone to his house of *St. Maur*, you did as much as you could to cure him of his jealousy. But as when one knows ones self guilty, one never thinks ones self secure from punishment, he kept the Country and retired presently after to *Montrond*. The Prince of *Conti*, the Prince of *Marillac*, and some others withdrew at the same time into *Guyenne*: and the Duke of *Rochefoucault* having excited some troubles in *Poitou*, you had those two Provinces to reduce as well as the City of *Paris*, which declared it self openly against your Majesty.

The pretence for all these revolts, was, that you would have the Cardinal *Mazarine* to come again in prejudice to your word, which you had passed to the contrary. But as the greatest part of the Chiefs of that Faction were in agitation with you to consent to his return, upon the consideration of certain favours, one could not make you believe any thing upon that subject; and you saw well, that Ambition had a greater share in their disobedience, than the hatred which they bore to your Minister.

It was easie for the *Spaniards* to do their business during such a time as this: so that they retook the greatest part of the places which you had ever conquered since your coming to the Crown. But your Majesty, who judged that the

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conservation of your Kingdom was of a greater consequence to you than all the rest, ran to the part that was the most pressed, and went your self into *Poitou*; after you had reduced *Berry* in person, where the Prince of *Conde* had excited some troubles. In the mean time you declared that Prince an Enemy of your State, and a perturbator of the publick repose, together with all his adherents. Yet this did not make any person to return to their Duty; and your Authority was so light set by, that the Parliament was two entire Months before they would record the declaration; although their interests appeared different from those of the Prince, with whom they acted in concert nothing.

The most powerful Cabal, which ranged themselves on the side of your Majesty, was that of the Duke of *Vendosme*, and the *Coadjutor*. But it was convenient that you should buy them both; and that was not done but by giving to the one the Office of Admiral of *France*, and in promising to the other your nomination for a Cardinals Hat at the first promotion which followed. And yet you believed that those favours, as great as they were, were nothing in comparison of the services which they were able to do you in so nice a conjuncture; especially with relation to *Paris*, which did not declare themselves as yet for the Prince of *Conde*, and where those two had a great many friends.

Your presence in *Poitou* dissipated the rebellion which was raised there. The capital City of that Province opened its Gates to you, and the Cardinal *Mazarine* being come hither to wait upon you with some Troops that he had gathered in

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Germany;

Germany, you raised the siege of *Cognac* which was begun by the Rebels. You drove them also out of some Posts which they had taken, and you streightned them within *Bourdeaux* : which you did not find your self in a condition to reduce by force, by reason the Prince of *Conde* who was come thither in person, had warmed the spirits of those in his own favour, who appeared to be disposed to submit themselves to your Majesty.

In the mean time, *Paris*, which you kept at your heart more than all the rest, seeing the return of Cardinal *Mazarine*, enter'd openly into the interests of the Prince of *Conde*. The Duke of *Orleans* in like manner acted against your Majesty ; although he had made it to be said to you several times, that you were not to suspect him for his living at a distance from the Court. But how could he so clear himself ? He who had all his life hearkned to evil Counsels, and who had always with him the Bishop of *Langres*, who was outrageous to see that the Cardinal's Hat which had been many times promised to him had missed him ? *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* too, who had a longing to be married, feeding her self with the hopes which the Prince gave her that she should marry his Son, spoke for him to her Father ; without making a reflexion, that she might well have been the mother of the Prince, which he proposed to her.

Amongst so many declared Enemies, there crept also in some secret ones, which your Majesty did not suspect ; and which quite on the contrary you had reason to account in the number of your most Affectionate Subjects. The Duke of *Beau-*

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fort was for some time of this number : notwithstanding the favours which you had granted him both for himself and his family. Till being weary of serving himself of the *Foxes skin*, he took upon him that of the *Lyon* : insomuch that he put himself into the field against your Majesty. The *Coadjutor* did not declare himself so formally : but the vexation which he had at the return of Cardinal *Mazarine* in putting him beside the ambition that he had to possess his place, made him make several intrigues underhand to destroy him ; although he knew that it was disagreeable to you. The jealousy which there was betwixt the Duke of *Beaufort* and the Duke of *Nemours*, who were both of them to command joyntly the same army, gave an occasion to your Majesty to draw near to them to take the advantages of their disunion. But the Prince of *Conde* prevented you by traversing in *incognito* all the Provinces beyond the *Loyre* ; and putting himself at the head of that army, where his presence should re-establish a good understanding betwixt those two Dukes : because their Disunion arose only from the Ambition which they had to command, with an exclusion the one of the other. Your Majesty did what you could to intercept him in so long a march as this was : and in which he had so many Rivers to pass. You caused the Fords to be guarded, and sent a number of Parties into the Field : which was all the precaution that could be taken. But as there is no security against the unfaithfulness of a man to his trust, *Bussy Rabutin* gave him a passage which brought him to his army, which lay at that time hard by *Châtillon sur Loir*.

Your Majesty, who did not presently know by what manner it was that he had escaped you, thought to repair that cast by a battle, in which you promised your self the advantage. The two Armies engaged each other near to *Bleneau* : where the Avant-guard of yours, commanded by the Marechal d'*Hoquincourt*, was treated so ill, that if the Viscount of *Turenne* had not come in to your succour, your Majesty who was at *Gergeau*, had run the risque to be taken : only his experience having made him to put a defile before you, he defended the same with so much bravery till the coming in of the Night, that the Prince who promised himself an entire victory if he could but have passed that place, was obliged to content himself with such advantages as he had gained already.

Your Majesty was happy that that Prince had at that time an itch to go to shew himself at *Paris* : where he imagined, that this new ray of glory would make him receive a sort of a Triumph. It is true, Ambition was not the very only cause of that journey ; and that Love had a great part in it : for he had given his Heart to the Dutches of *Chastillon*, and the desire which he had to see her made him that he neglected the advantages which he might have used of his victory. This is a fault which great Princes are generally guilty of ; and it is as a miracle if ever they can overcome their Love. The Prince of *Cende* is not the only person who hath acted so : and your Majesty knows it as well as I, that since him there hath been a Prince whose reputation is still greater than his, who is fallen into the same error. However, it is possible one may
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be in love, and yet do ones duty too. For as difficult as that is, it is but to bear it in ones mind, that every body hath their Eyes turned upon what one does ; and that nothing escapes them, without their seeing into it. For then a Prince, who hath a little care of his honour, will not give an Enemy such an advantage over him ; and will chuse rather to overcome himself for a time, than to bring the least stain upon his reputation. Besides, that an opportunity once lost is not easily recovered again: from whence we must conclude, that when we *may* do a thing, we are never to put it off till to morrow.

The Absence of the Prince of *Conde* gave an opportunity to your Majesty to put your army at its ease again in such a manner, that in a little time after they were in a posture to make themselves to be feared. The Duke of *Orleans*, your Uncle, who had altogether declared himself against you, fearing he should be over-powered, had recourse to the Duke of *Lorain* his Brother in Law, to desire him to come to his succour : and the *Spaniards*, to whom that Duke every year let out his Troops, having consented thereunto, he enter'd into *France* and took the way of *Estampes*, which was then besieged by the Viscount of *Turenne*. The Place was worth nothing it self: but as it was defended by a good Garison, it held out longer than it was expected. So that the Duke of *Lorain* might have arriv'd time enough to relieve it, which was some trouble to your Majesty, but that he did not degenerate on that occasion from his ordinary humour ; and being more accustomed to Pillage than to Fight, he marched by such little journeys, that the place

was taken before ever he came within the fight of it.

The Viscount of *Turenne* marched against him to oblige him to a battle, *en dépit qu'il en eût* ; which made him alter his course to repass the *Seine*. He fix'd his Camp at *Ville-neuve St. Georges*, where he could not be forced to fight without a great disadvantage. He ravaged in the mean time all *la Brie*, as well as the flat Country which is about *Paris* : which drew upon him the curses of the *Parisians* ; who had flattered themselves that he was not come to plunder them, but to succour them. And yet all the complaints that they made of it being to no purpose, your Majesty, who was as much concerned for it as they, because he could not ruine them but you must be sensible of it at the same time, endeavoured to prevail with him so as he should forbear that course. There was a probability of your succeeding with him in this, because you had wherewithal to tempt him ; so long as you held his Country in your hands, and offered to restore it again to him upon reasonable terms. But he chose rather to embrace the *ready Money*, than the offers which were so much to his advantage : and your Majesty having granted him a *safe Conduct*, he went out of the Kingdom to the great astonishment of those who had call'd him in. Your Majesty was no less extreamly surprized at it, upon the account that you did not believe that a Prince of his birth was capable of acting by such a vile interest. But the Affection which he bore to the Children which he had by the Princess of *Cantecroix*, took away from him all other desires than that of amassing of Money :

Money: and since he could not call them to the Succession in *Lorain* for two reasons; the one, because that Country did not belong to him by his own head, but by that of his Wife; the other, because they had been born to him during his marriage, and upon that account were incapable of succeeding him; he was willing to give them in their hands wherewithal to console them, that he was not able to do more for them.

The King of *England*, an unfortunate Son of a yet more unfortunate Father, who was come to desire a retreat and some succour with your Majesty, served you intirely well in that treaty: which disquieted you very much till it was done: because if the Duke of *Lorain* had been so minded, he might have given trouble to the Viscount of *Turenne*, who you believed was in great danger for some time, upon the occasion of his being approached too near to him. However he got out of that matter happily, by a conduct which was very ingenious, and which acquir'd him a great deal of honour amongst the Enemy; as well as amongst his own men.

Your Majesty being come to the end of so nice a business, gave no respite to the Rebels: but going in person to your army, you encouraged them so well, that the Prince of *Conde* saw himself together with his Troops at the point of falling into your hands. For you followed him so smartly, that he was obliged to possess himself of the bridge of *St. Cloud*, by the means whereof he thought to avoid the battle. But your Majesty having caused a Bridge to be made over the *Seine*, as he saw himself at the point to be attack'd in front and rear, he drew nearer towards

Paris, which he had coasted along to endeavour to gain *Charenton*. The Viscount of *Turenne*, who observed him, was upon his heels ; and began to charge his *Arrier Guard* about the gate *du Temple*, and the gate *St. Martin*. This obliged him to press forward his march ; and being come up to the height of the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, he served himself of some retrenchments there, which chance offered to him, and which had been made to defend the place from the plunder of the Troops of the Duke of *Lorain*.

There he lodged his Infantry with more order than the shortness of the time did seem to give him leave : and drawing his Cavalry in, he sent the Duke of *Beaufort* into the City to endeavour to get a retreat there for his Carriages ; and to make them declare entirely for him. But the fear which the *Parisians* had of being pillaged, made them that they shut their Gates, and set a good guard thereto. The Prince of *Conde* seeing this, disposed his Carriages along the Ditch ; and caused the houses to be bored through, to see in what manner your Troops advanced themselves.

Your Majesty posted your self at *Menil-Montant* to see that Attack ; which had yielded a pleasure to your great heart, if you had been to fight against your Enemies, and not against your Subjects. It was a *Vigorous* one ; and your Troops having forced the retrenchments, the Viscount of *Turenne* ordered his Cannon to advance by the way which is called at this day the *Throne* ; because there was a throne raised there to receive your Majesty, at the time when you made your Entrance into this City after your Marriage. The
Prince

Prince of *Conde* did all he was able to sustain the efforts of your men; who were animated by your presence to work miracles. But God, who would not suffer that the Rebellion should last any longer, gave you to obtain a perfect Victory: insomuch that the Prince of *Conde* had been irrecoverably undone, if *Paris* had not opened its gates to him. He there saved his Troops, which were affrighted at the vigour of yours; and from which the ill side that they had taken, drew away more than half of their strength. *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* did you this service: and caused the Cannon also to play upon the person of your Majesty, and upon that of your Minister, who was placed hard by you.

This Victory strangely stunn'd the *Parisians*, no less than it did all those who had taken the part of the Prince of *Conde*. And as your Majesty had in that great City those faithful Subjects who remonstrated to the others, how much they were in the wrong to go away from their duty, they most of them considered upon it, before they would grant that Prince the assistance which he wanted in his necessity. This gave occasion to an assembly; which was held within two days after at the *Hotel de Ville*: where there was a great number of persons, who represented after a fashion the Estates General; the Convocation whereof they had desired of your Majesty; who had been obliged to promise them it, to deliver your self from the importunities that they used to you. But as you there had your Creatures, and the Prince of *Conde* also had his, and that they were in a dispute together upon the resolutions which they were to take, the *Mutineers* forced open the doors
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and fell to the slaughter of some of the Deputies. The only Son of a Counsellor of the *Grand Chambré*, a quality which was very considerable at that time, was killed upon the place with some others : and this murder having begot a great confusion, those who took your Majesties side put Paper in their Hats to know one another ; the others put Straw ; and this mark passed as far as to your Court : where the greatest Lords submitted themselves to it as the others. In *Paris* those who had taken the Straw were presently the strongest ; and having driven away those who had taken the Paper, the Mareschal of the *Hospital*, the Governor of the City, who was in your Interests, had a great deal of difficulty to save himself. It was believed, and many persons are of that sentiment, that it was the *Prince* who excited that sedition : which he endeavoured to make to fall upon the Cardinal *Mazarine*, to the end to render him the more odious. But whether it was that they were in the right, or that they began to be weary of being disobedient to their Master, every one thought of nothing more than to make up his matters with your Majesty. The Duke of *Orleans* offered some Propositions to you, and so did the Parliament : but still you found them so haughty, and so little suitable to the respect which was due to you, that instead of hearkning to them, you were so very angry at that assembly, that you removed it from thence to *Pontoise*.

This resolute action, accompanied with many others of the same nature, perfectly astonished the *Mutineers*. Nevertheless the Prince of *Conde* endeavoured to revive his Party, which he saw
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was ready to abandon him. But the Parliament being upon the point of turning their backs to him, as well as the Duke of *Orleans* your Uncle, he cast himself into the arms of the *Spaniards*. Your Majesty prudently made good use of that conjuncture: and in order to re-unite the minds of all again, you removed from you a second time the Cardinal *Mazarine*, whom many took for the pretext of their Rebellion. So having now no more a Cloak to cover themselves with, they consented to return to their duty, upon condition that your Majesty would grant them an *Amnesty*. You did not judge it convenient to refuse them that: and the Duke of *Orleans* being retired to *Blois*, a Town of his *Appanage*, it was wholly left to your Majesty to return to the Capital City of your Kingdom.

You were earnestly entreated thither by your Parliament, and in the name of the Clergy by the *Coadjutor*; who had been made a Cardinal according to the assurances which had been given him, and who was come purposely to wait upon your Majesty at *Compeigne*. Your Majesty held a Council, whether you ought not to have him to be taken into Custody, to punish him for the treachery that he had used in violating the promises which he had made to you. But they thought that it was good first to establish your Authority; and after that, you would be more in a condition to take in hand what you should see fitting. And indeed it is Prudence to let things ripen, and to set upon them out of time is the way to spoil all.

They accused the Prince, who might yet have found favour with your Majesty, if he had taken the right way for it, with this; that the reason
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why he did not do so, was; because he had it in his head to follow the example of the Duke of *Lorain*, who plundered and ravaged all without distinction of Friends or Enemies. But there was no occasion to believe so of him : and a Prince of his Birth, and of so great a Soul as he, could not possibly entertain thoughts so unworthy of the one and the other. He ravaged however, as he went, the frontier of *Champagne* : from whence after the possessing himself of *Rhetel* and *St. Menébout*, he retired unto *Namur*.

He had some Conference there with a Minister of the *Arch-Duke*; who before he would suffer him to come to *Bruxelles* desired to know, whether he did not intend to give him the hand. This proposition made him sensible, to what distastes he exposed himself by his disobedience. However his courage not permitting him to hesitate upon the answer that he was to make to it, he bid it to be told the *Arch-Duke*, that the honour which he had to be the first Prince of the Blood of *France* had taught him too well his duty, to fail ever in that : so that he should expect to go before him, if it was not that he represented in the *Low Countrys* his *Catholique* Majesty ; in which quality he should give him the hand, when he went to wait upon him : but when the *Arch-Duke* should come in his turn to visit him again, he supposed that then it was the same thing. The *Arch Duke* was not pleased with so proud an answer ; and believing that after what he had done there was no more returning into *France* for him, he insisted upon this, that he should yield him the precedence every where: to which the Prince would never consent. At last the thing went so far, that he

he was obliged to order it to be told the Archduke, that he would be gone thence in eight days, if he did not accept of the offers which he made him; and that he was not so concerned for his person, but he knew very well whither to go. The Arch-Duke was obliged to grant him his demand. But as he did not do it but upon force, it shew the Prince to what inconveniencies one is exposed, when one passes so to a strange Court; especially when they look upon you there as a Rebel, and as one who is fain to buy your protection at any price that you can.

He had the same differences with the Duke of *Lorain*, who kept himself the most part of the time at *Bruxelles*; and they had thoughts of engaging one another often. But their common friends hindered it, without daring nevertheless to regulate them, because of the pretensions of the one and the other. For the Duke of *Lorain* would admit of no concurrence with him; and the Prince of *Conde* could not hear any mention made of giving him the hand, without falling into a passion. But the greatest vexation of all that he met with in that Court, was; that Prince *Francis*, the Brother of that Duke, pretended to dispute the precedence with him too: at which he had those transports, that it was believed, that things would not pass over without blows. And that which provoked him still further, was, that the Arch-Duke put no order to this matter, although he had desired it of him, confiding as to himself in the justice of his cause. But yet that Prince took no care to do it; because, besides that he was glad to give him that mortification, he was not willing to disoblige Prince *Francis*, whom he desired to
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fasten to his own side ; and particularly at a time when he was afraid that he should escape from him, by reason of the great endeavours which *France* used to gain him.

See how one meets with such distastes as one never expects, when one passes so to the service of another Prince from that of his own ! Now there is nothing of that, when one carries in ones own Country : where ones Rank is not only established, but where also the Sovereign is concerned to do nothing to the prejudice of a Prince of his blood. But it is very just, that one should suffer penance for the fault which one has done, that it may serve to make us to come to our selves again. For there is nothing which renders us more wise than the Mortifications which we never look for : and he who will always *sail before the wind*, will run a hazard of never knowing himself.

The Prince having thus quitted that party, your Majesty considered only how to pacifie your Kingdom, before you went to drive the Enemy from the frontier : which you flattered your self you should bring about with ease, after you were in repose at home. The Province of *Guyenne* had continually their arms in their hands in favour of the Prince of *Conde*. The Prince of *Conti* was in *Bordeaux* : where his quality of a Prince of the blood was of a great weight to draw many persons into the same disobedience with him. The Count *d'Ognon* was in *Bromage* : where by an ill example he was transported to make himself as a Petty Tyrant. All this required a great force for their reduction : especially having an intelligence with the *Spaniards*, from whom they received succours. But your Majesty considering,
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that you should do much better to gain these persons over to you by kindness, you made the one a Marechal of France, provided that he remitted his place into your hands : and you granted to the other some advantages, upon condition that he should quit the party of his brother.

Your Majesty, who had found a means some time before to recal the Cardinal *Mazarine*, and to set *Paris* again at quiet, where you had re-established the Parliament in its usual Seat, having now no more domestique troubles to fear, put your armies on foot, not only to secure your frontiers, but also to repair your reputation which was extreemly run-aground amongst strangers. You had lost all, that you ever had won in *Catalonia*. The affairs of *Italy* were in as bad a condition. Those of *Flanders* stood not much better : and out of so many Conquests, which there hath been mention made of here above, there remained no more than *Arras* to your Majesty. On the side of *Champagne*, the Enemy there possessed *St. Menehould*, *Mouzon*, and *Rhetel* : upon the frontier of *Picardy*, *le Catelet*, and *Capelle* : and in *Burgundy*, *Bellegarde* : where there were the remains of the faction of the Prince of *Conde*. This was a pretty deal of work for a young Prince, who had not as yet all the experience which years are accustomed to give. But your Majesty beginning prudently with that, which to you appeared to be of the greatest consequence, you besieged *Bellegarde*; which you made your self the master of : and having cut off the head thereby of the Rebellion, you did not know almost whither to turn you, you were so much pressed on all sides. The Prince of *Conde* was entered into *Picardy*, where he had
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taken *Roye*. The Arch-Duke threatned *Champagne*. Those two parts were of equal consequence to you. But yet you could not remedy all, in one and the same time : the forces of your Kingdom were too much spent. So your Majesty being obliged to do things step by step, you marched to the relief of *Picardy* : where you caused the Enemy to quit *Roye*, and afterwards you laid siege to *Rbetel*. Which place being taken, you made your self master of *Mouzon*, in the interim that the Enemy got into *Rocroy* : for which you had your revenge in reducing *St. Menesbent* under your obedience.

Your Arms in *Catalonia* began again to make themselves redoutable. You took some strong places there, and you would have taken the City of *Girona*, but for a miracle which heaven wrought in favour of your Enemies : Who placed upon the Rampart the *Chasse* of a holy Bishop of that City ; and there appeared at the same time all about such a quantity of Flies, which came and fell upon your army, that all your Cavalry was spoiled by it. The horses, not being able to endure, broke their Halters ; and ran away a cross the Camp ; where they tumbled themselves on the ground, to get rid of the evil that they suffered. A great many perished also with it : and because the Enemy had it then in their power to make a great advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for them, it was convenient to resolve to raise the siege.

In *Italy* you carried the war into the *Milanese* : where the Count *de Grancè*, whom you had made a Marechal of *France*, took *Carpignan*, and fought the Marquis of *Caracena*, whom the King of *Spain* had opposed to him.

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You were obliged in the mean time to acknowledge the Government that was then of *England*; notwithstanding both your inclination and your justice had carried you to protect him, who was the lawful King thereof. But the procedure of the *Spaniards*, who pretended to make an advantage of the aversion which you shew to the Usurpation of *Cromwell*, and to hold a treaty with him to your prejudice, obliged you to recur to the only means which was left you, to cover your self from their ill designs. You offered your Mediation to him, to determine in an amicable manner the difference which was arisen betwixt *England* and *Holland*; and you was very glad to put an end to that, because your Enemies might have drawn an advantage from it.

It was very much for a state which had been so sick, to find it self free from the *Convulsions* that had like to have laid it in its Grave. But as in long Maladies it often happens that there are *relapses*, the Count *d'Harcourt*, whom your Majesty had made use of to reduce the Rebels unto their duty, became a Rebel himself in his turn. He found a way to thrust himself into *Brisac*: the Garison whereof being at his devotion, he would have formed a kind of a sovereignty in *Alsatia*, if he had had shoulders that were strong enough to have sustained the weight of one. The *Spaniards* did what they could to oblige him to deliver that place into their hands. But as that, which they offered to him for it, was not enough to tempt him, he refused those, and thought to agree about it with the Duke of *Lorain*, who had wherewithal to pay him very well: because there was no Prince who had so much ready money as he. But

as he was an idolater of that money, he could not perswade himself to give the price which the *Count* asked of him. So this affair lingred a long time ; and it was what ruined it ; because the *Spaniards* who mistrusted him, caused him to be seized soon after.

Your Majesty, to whom this business appeared to be of a great importance, as really it was, had ordered many journeys to be made to him back and again to get him to return to his duty. But as he was long in resolving himself, you besieged *Beffort*, to cut off the succour from him which he might hope for from that way. You made your self master of it in the depth of the Winter. Because it was convenient that the *French* should learn to make war at all seasons, who were under your Majesty to despise the heat and the cold, and to accustom themselves alike to the one and the other. This Conquest, joyned to the advantageous conditions which you proposed to the *Count d'Harcourt*, brought him to accept of your offers. You conferred upon him the government of *Anjou*, and you preserved him in his estate and in his office of *Gentleman of the Horse* to you, upon condition that he restored to you that which he possessed in *Alsatia*.

This matter being thus ended so advantageously for your Majesty, it seemed, that you had nothing more now to think upon, but to retake *Rocroy* : the Garison whereof laid waste *Champagne*, and principally under the orders of a Governor, who was very watchful, and who had learnt his art under the Prince of *Conde* : I mean *Montal*, whom your Majesty hath employed since to such good purpose, and who hath done you great services in
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the last war. But you believed, that the taking of *Stenay* was of a yet greater consequence to you : for which reason you ordered your Army to march thither under the command of the Marechal de *Fabert*. That General was extreamly commendable to you for his great fidelity : For he was almost the only one of the Governors of places, who had resisted the offers of the Prince of *Conde* : who had done all that he was able to debauch him from your service. But he did not think convenient to follow the example of a great many others : so that he preserved *Sedan* for you, which your Majesty had committed to his trust.

The Prince, to whom *Stenay* belong'd, demanded some forces of the Arch-Duke to enable him to relieve it. The Arch-Duke promised him them, and indeed did what he could to oblige Prince *Francis* to lend him his. But as that place had been dismembred from *Lorain*, Prince *Francis* refused to do it but upon condition, that it should be reunited to *Lorain* again. The Prince of *Conde* would not submit to that : and this affair having still increased the misunderstanding which there was betwixt them, the Arch-Duke had work enough to hinder them from coming to blows one with another. Your Majesty went your self to this siege, after having been before at *Reims*, where you received the *Holy Oyl*. You distributed there great bounties amongst the Soldiers : who could not forbear to admire the inclination which they saw you had to War. In the mean time your forces being employed here, the Prince of *Conde* brought the *Spaniards* to lay siege to *Arras*, hoping that that place being still of a greater consequence to you than the other,

you would raise the siege of *Stenay* to succour it. But his expectation was fruitless; and having only served to render your Majesty the more diligent to acquit your self of your enterprize, you were no sooner come to an end thereof, but you flew to the succour of *Arras*.

The Conquest of *Arras* was of that importance to the *Spaniards*, that they had neglected nothing to make themselves sure of it. Their lines were the handsomest which had been seen till that time; and from distance to distance, they had raised Redoubts, by the means whereof they lay in the greatest safety. Not contented with all that precaution, they digged in the inside *Holes* to stop the horse. But at the beginning of the siege, there happened a thing to them of an ill omen: which was, that the *Chevalier de Crequi*, who had no great reputation as yet for war, but who hath since acquir'd himself one so Noble, that your Majesty after having made him a Marechal of *France*, hath given him the command of your principal Armies, threw himself into the place at the head of 500 horse.

This Relief was a great kindness to *Montjen*, who commanded within; and who for to spare his purse, had laid up there but an indifferent Garrison. For at that time you as yet had so little convenience of putting your affairs in order, that the Governors of places appropriated the contributions to themselves, and gave no accompt thereof to your Majesty; provided that they took it upon themselves to defend them. In which there was this inconvenience in the mean time of the greatest moment; that, if they were a little inclined to be covetous, they minded nothing but to treasure

ure up money. So your Majesty did not defer the regulating of that matter : which being what you were not able to do otherwise than by introducing another usage, you put things into the state in which we see them at this day. And indeed, besides that your security was not very good before, you took away by that means a number of petty tyrants, who made themselves to be believed, and who presently after they were got into a place believed themselves, to be as good as you.

Montjen, who was a brave man, held it out nigh two months, without suffering the Enemy to gain much ground upon him. In the mean time your Army under the command of the Viscount of *Turenne* appeared in view of their lines, and began to intrench themselves. For that General apprehended, that they would not come out to fight ; and that as they were much stronger than he, they should not however oblige him to receive any affront. This was the advice of the Prince of *Conde* ; who urged for his reasons, that if they tarried until the Marechal *d'Hoquincourt* should come up with the Troops under his command, they should find then they had some body to deal with. But the Arch-Duke maintained, that they could not come out of their lines without abandoning some out-works, which they had made themselves the Masters of : or if they did not abandon them, yet the Garison would drive them from them, which would be still the same thing. So that it was more proper to continue their attacks, and to put themselves in a posture of succeeding with those before the coming up of *d'Hoquincourt*.

His opinion was followed : because of all the officers who assisted at the Council of War there was only the Prince of *Conde*, who should dare to contradict him. This gave time to the Viscount of *Turenne* to put his Camp out of danger of an insult, and to expect the Mareschal *d'Hoquincourt* : who when he was come, attack'd the Abbey of *St. Eloy* ; and making himself the master of it, he chose it for his own quarter, and spread his army round him : which acting in concert with the Viscount of *Turenne*, who was on the other side of the lines, they cut off the provisions from the Enemy, and hinder'd that no Convoy should enter into their Camp.

Montjen seeing his relief so near, found his Courage was increased too by it; and having repulsed the besiegers in two attacks which they made upon him for to possess themselves of one of his Out-works, they were put into that consternation, that the Viscount of *Turenne* thought it convenient to serve himself of that conjuncture to finish their disorder. The Prince of *Conde* who foresaw that they could not stand against him, told the Arch-Duke, that although he had not been willing to believe him the first time, he hoped that it would not be the same thing now : that there was no more time to lose ; and the only way which there was to take in the condition as things stood, was, to raise the siege, and to fall upon the Mareschal *d'Hoquincourt*, who lay so that *Turenne* could not succour him. The Arch Duke appeared well enough disposed to this, and enter'd with him into the Particular of their retreat : but having consulted about it the Count of *Fuensaldagne*, who passed for a good Soldier amongst those of his

own Country, he became altogether dissuaded to the contrary.

The Festival of *St. Lewis* being come, which the Viscount of *Turenne* had chosen for the time of his Attack, he gave the signal which he had agreed upon with the Mareschal d'*Hocquincourt*: and having each marched his way, the Viscount of *Turenne* forced the lines by the passage which was guarded by *Fernando Solis*, whilst the Mareschal had not made that haste: which gave time to the *Arch-Duke* to look to his retreat. But the Viscount of *Turenne*, prosecuting his advantage, in the next place beat the *Lorainers*, whose quarter was very near to that of *Solis*. The Prince of *Conde* seeing the disorder which there was on all sides, advanced as far as to a rivulet, which separated his quarter from that of the others: and having made head to the Viscount of *Turenne* and the Mareschal d'*Hocquincourt*, who had joyned him, he gave time both to the *Arch-Duke* and to the Troops which he had brought out of *France* to get away in good order. His Infantry nevertheless suffered very much in his own retreat: which he made the last of all, with that prudence, as gave him to be admired by the *Spaniards*, amongst whom he acquir'd a great reputation by so fine an Action.

The Cannon and the Baggage of the Enemy were the Booty of your Majesties army: who went to give thanks to God in the Cathedral of that City for the Victory which he had sent you. For you have always as a true Christian referred all things to him, without believing that your good conduct and the force of your arms should do any thing without his assistance. The taking

of *Quesnoy* was the fruit of that victory, and it was with this that you concluded so good a Campaigne.

Your Conquests increased also on the side of *Catalonia*, by the taking of *Villa-Francha* and *Puicerda*, from whence your Enemies made incursions every hour into *Roussillon*. But you did not enjoy the same progresses in *Italy*, although you had spared nothing on that side, to signalize there the glory of your arms. For the Duke of *Guise* who had imbarqued you in great expenses under a pretence that he maintained correspondences with *Naples*, and that it did not appear as yet but all the kingdom would rise up in arms, returned for all that from thence, without having taken any thing more than *Castellamar*, which he was obliged to abandon again.

That action however gave a reputation to your Majesty : whom the *Spaniards* did endeavour to make to pass in that Country for a Prince, who could not so soon recover your self from the confusions which had been caused you by the Civil Wars. And yet you were scarce sensible of those longer, for the good order which you carried to all parts. For it was not only upon the frontier, and in bringing the War into the Enemies Country, that you strengthened your power ; but you did it also in the heart of your state : where there remained for you to do two things, which likewise appeared to be pressing enough. The one was to authorize your Minister so, as that he suffered no more of those shocks, with which he was like to have been levelled with the ground : The other, to punish those who had made a shew of giving themselves to your service, and yet had deceived you.

Now

Now you performed the first by marrying the Nieces of his *Eminence* to such great Lords, that the first persons of the Court found themselves concerned for his preservation. There was one of those who married the Duke of *Mercœur*; and another, the Prince of *Conti*. And this raised a desire in every thing that was great and of high quality about you, to court the others; who were not as yet indeed at age to be married, but who might pretend to all things, after two such matches as those two first had received.

As to the punishment which you thought to take of those who had deceived you; you contented your self with letting it light upon the person of the Cardinal of *Retz*, whom you caused to be Arrested. But yet as the respect which you had for his character did not give you leave to exact that of him as was suitable to what your justice required, you intended no more than to deprive him of the Archbishoprick of *Paris*; which made the way easie for him, by the Credit which that dignity gave him over your Clergy, to form intrigues that were contrary to your service. You ordered it to be proposed to him, that he should give up his resignation to the *Pope*, and you would set him again at liberty. Monsieur *de Bellieure*, the *Premier President*, who carried the message to him on the part of your Majesty, was of the number of your friends, but not of those who were the friends of your Minister. So instead of advising him to the thing, when he proposed it to him, he told him on the contrary, that he did not speak to him of it as his friend, but as a person who was sent to him on the part of the Court.

For the rest, since that Magistrate hath had the reputation of one of the honestest men in France, and of as an upright a judge as there hath been of a long time in the *Parliament*, it is not besides the purpose that I should give a character of him to your Majesty. It is true, that he was a good man, and incapable to do any base action. But yet I may say, that your Majesty did no kindness to your own interests, when you called him to that Magistracy. If he was a Man of Virtue, yet it was of a virtue which was austere, and such as did not enter into the necessities of your state. He armed himself always with the great name of the *Publick Good*: and that with-held him inconsiderately from working in conjunction with your Majesty, upon what was for the good of your affairs. He was besides of a spirit so haughty, that if the Cardinal *Mazarine* sent for him, he did not come, unless he was sent for in the name of your Majesty. He would go back again too, when he saw that you did not appear your self to declare your will to him: and his pride proceeded so far as to that, that he could not endure that his *Eminence* should throw betwixt them any difference him.

Now you must have none of those troublesome and unply Men to sit at the head of your *Parliaments*, who think well enough of themselves already, lest you give them a leader to concur with them to inroach upon your Authority. Nothing is of a greater consequence to the good of your state: and when the place of such an Officer is vacant, you are only to fill it with a Subject, who may serve as a *Corrective* to the *Parliament*. Those Bodies have sway enough already with them than
that

that you should seek to augment it: and that which I have said of them above in speaking of the war of *Paris*, is a sufficient reason to you to acquiesce in this judgment. But the propension which you always have had to recompence your Servants, joyned with the necessity in which you found your self at that time, made you that you took the first comer who offered himself, to repair the unhappy fortune of him who was in that place; and whose extreme poverty you could not behold without blushing in some measure that you were not in a condition to relieve him. So you gave permission to that Magistrate to treat with his predecessor: which was what cannot be excused but by the misery of the times: And may I also say it to your Majesty, that a thousand inconveniences arrive upon it; which you your self will agree to, if you reflect, that such as attain unto honours by that manner, not believing that they have any obligation for them to their Master, they are not so obedient to him as those are who hold them of him only.

The Cardinal of *Retz* took the advantage of the advise of his friend. But as there is nothing more hard upon one than the loss of liberty, he thought to procure himself that again by pretending to hearken to that Negotiation. He ordered it to be told to your Majesty, that he was ready to make his resignation in Blank: but as the condition which you offered to him for so doing, was a thing, which would depend, when that was done, upon only Cardinal *Mazarine*, to whom he could not trust himself; he should be very glad to know before hand, what assurances you would give him of his liberty. Your Majesty, who acted

de bonne foi, but yet was not willing to be trick'd, let him know, that you left it in his choice to take such measures as he should think fit ; and provided that you found your own security in them, you should be still contented. So it being left wholly to him to resolve himself, he agreed with your Majesty, that you should order him to be removed out of *Vincennes* ; and that he should abide under the custody of the *Mareschal de la Meilleraie*, who had married one of his Relations, till such time as the Pope had accepted of his resignation.

He was conducted to *Nantz*, where that Mareschal was : whose vigilance he sought only how to deceive, upon the account that he knew very well, that the *Pope*, with whom he acted underhand to direct him to refuse what in appearance he desired of him, would not fail to declare himself in opposition to your Majesty. The Mareschal, who was an honest Man and did not imagine him to be so deceitful, had given order that they should not keep him so strict, but that they should give him some liberty. So his Guards suffered him to go every day upon the Bastion ; and contented themselves without following him, with only looking to the gate, which was the passage thither. In the mean time he, who thought of nothing but how to make his escape, provided himself of a silken girdle, which was as long as the Bastion was high ; and his Physician who was with him holding it for him, he slid down by the help thereof. He took horse, as there was one brought ready for him, immediately. And his design, as it was believed, was to come to *Paris* : where he hoped to foment

new

new disorders. But his horse having given him a fall upon the stones of *Nantz*, which are very bad, he fled to the Castle of *Macheoul*, which belonged to the Duke of *Retz* his Brother.

The Marechal prepared himself to go and besiege that Castle, which obliged him to escape away from thence : and being fled to *Beslile*, the Marechal would have followed him thither also, if your Majesty had been pleased to permit him. There was a reason of state which hinder'd you from granting him that leave. You had a fear that that Marechal, who was already extraordinarily powerful in that Province, might not be willing after that, to defend that place for him : and so instead of the quiet which you desired to establish, you your self should be the cause of a new confusion.

In the mean time as it had been a defiance in some measure to your Majesty to continue in your Kingdom, after having had the misfortune to draw upon himself your indignation, he passed into *Spain*, and from thence to *Rome* ; from whence your Majesty hath never been pleased to suffer him to return home, until he hath given you the satisfaction which you require of him. Indeed it becomes the Majesty of a great King, not to permit that a Subject should make head to him : and unless he reduces him to his obedience, it is an example for others, which is of a dangerous consequence.

Your Majesty knowing that the *Spaniards* were not as yet well recovered of the defeat at *Arras*, made haste to take the field : where after having possessed your self of *Landrecy*, *Conde*, and *St, Guilain*, the Arch-Duke was in such an alarm at it,
that

that he imagined every moment that you would come and attack *Brussels*. The fear which he had thereof obliged him to set on work ten thousand Peasants to throw up a sort of an *Enveloppe* there: Which is to the advantage of your Majesty, for posterity to know: Because they cannot reflect, how after he had made you shake in your Capital City, you returned the same to him again in so small a time, but they must be assured withal, that it is necessary that you should be a Great King for to do those Miracles. But that which I am to say, is this, That you forgot nothing of what might conduce to the benefit of your State, and you were already become as excellent at a Negotiation, as in the art of making of War.

This appeared very well in the Treaty which you held with Prince *Francis*: whose designs you penetrated into by the art with which at the defeat of *Arras* he caused the Baron *d'Incbequin*, his *Intendant*, to fall into your hands. For instead of looking upon the taking of him to be a thing of Chance, you attributed it to a premeditated contrivance: the sense whereof made you keep fast to the propositions, which that *Comptroller* at the same time offered to you: who made a shew, as if all that he said was of himself, and without the order of his Master: But you reflected upon the necessity which he had to accommodate himself with you by his wit. Which was the part of a prudent and a well-advised Prince: because when one takes up with but appearances, it is the way to be the fool of all that one does.

It had been to be wished, that your Majesty could have been in person in all your armies, as
you

you was in that of *Flanders*, to have seen with your own Eyes in what manner things passed, and to have weighed all enterprises before you gave your consent to them. But as the knowledge which you had of places as well as of the forces of the Enemy was but imperfect, there happen'd a Check to you in *Italy*, for which one can only accuse the easiness of Cardinal *Mazarine*.

The Passion which he always had for his own Country, notwithstanding the fortune and the honours which he possessed in *France*, which ought however to have made him forget it, was the occasion that he sought after a Match there for the Sister of the Princess of *Conti*, and the Dutches of *Mercur*. And none of all those who presented themselves being so agreeable to him as the Duke of *Modena*, he encouraged that alliance to your Majesty, as if he thought of nothing in it more than to fasten that Prince to your interests. So he induced you to think good of giving to him the command of your army in that Country, in conjunction with Prince *Thomas* : and those two Generals being joyned, they broke the measures of the Marquis of *Caracena*, who pretended to surprize *Reggio* : which so enflamed their courage, that they thought themselves in a condition to lay siege to *Pavia*. But being obliged to raise that siege again, it would have reflected upon the glory of your Majesty, if that which did pass elsewhere, had not served to repair your reputation. For besides what you had done in *Flanders*, your army in *Catalonia* not only preserved its conquests, but added new ones to them. They seized upon *Cap-daquiers*, and being entred into *Campourda*, they put all under contribution as far as to *Girona*.

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The error which your Minister had committed in *Italy*, was not the only one of which one may accuse his administration. He was possessed with a maxime which no body approved of but himself, and which your Majesty however tolerated, because you had the condescension to express a great confidence in him. In almost all affairs he employed two persons instead of one: which was an everlasting source of jealousy betwixt them, and could not but produce an ill effect. For two persons with an equal authority regard themselves as two Enemies, although they may make no shew of it. So that if possibly they can bite one another, they will never miss of the occasion to do so; and they are never so well pleased, as when their Companion commits a fault. They even suborn people one against the other, to throw one another down a precipice: from which it is difficult to recover again, so as it is necessary for the good of your state.

Your Majesty is very far from that Maxim: and as you know, that the Government which is the most perfect, is that which approaches the nearest to the operation of God, you leave an absolute authority to those who shall act under your orders. It is enough that they render an account to you of what they do: but you bring them not into question the one with the other, by which you could not be but a great deal the worse served. Because if those who have a right to do a thing, do not manage it with all the authority of their Master, they are ill obeyed: and if two persons have a right to Command in the same thing, the one defeats ordinarily the other's enterprise. The difference of opinions in them produces

produces this effect, as well as jealousy: from whence it must be concluded, that a state is ill governed, when there is after this manner so many masters. And do we not see, that a Monarchical Government is accounted the most perfect; and that amongst Common-wealths, those especially pass for the best ordered ones, where there is not that *Chaos* and where there does not that confusion appear?

However it is, that disorder reigned both in your *Finances* and in your *Armies*. You have seen that in *Italy* you had there two *Generals*. It was the same thing this year in *Flanders*: where the Cardinal *Mazarine* was pleased to appoint two men, whose manners and whose inclinations were opposite. Those were the Viscount of *Turenne*, and the *Mareschal de la Fertè*: who had never been over-great friends, and now besides very lately had had an occasion of quarrel. For the *Mareschal* had taken out of the others hands a Prisoner of War, under a pretence that he would change him with one of his Men, who was fallen into the hands of the Enemy. But the thing was to have him hanged by way of a reprisal for a *Lorain*, by them put to death, who belonged to the service of your Majesty. In which he was in the right; and no body can disagree to it: because without that there would not have been a single person of that country, who would have been willing to take up arms in your favour. But your Majesty confessed to me, that the Viscount of *Turenne* took occasion to complain, that the *Mareschal* had abused his credulity: and although your service was concerned in it, yet he had no pleasure to be the instrument of the destruction of an unfortunate Man.

These two Generals, whose army was of thirty thousand Men, considering upon what to employ it with honour, found no conquest which would be more illustrious than that of *Valenciennes*. Each took his quarter : the one on one side of it, the other on the other : And your Majesty was expecting every hour the news of its reduction, when you were told that *Don John of Austria*, who was come to take the place of the *Arch-Duke*, marched to the succour of it with the *Prince of Conde*. The Viscount of *Turenne*, who was accustomed to use his precautions in things, did it again so well at this time, that *Don John* believed that in order to succeed in his enterprize, he ought to attack the quarter of *Mareschal de la Fertè*. *Turenne*, who laid out money in spies, understood as much : and made it to be known to that *Mareschal* ; to whom he offered a recruit, on purpose to enable him to repulse the Enemy. But his jealousy would not give him leave to accept it. So *Don John* falling upon him, not by surprise, but in such a manner as was much to his own advantage, defeated his quarter and took the *Mareschal* himself prisoner. He pretended afterwards to pass to that of the Viscount of *Turenne* : but the Viscount received him in so good order, that he saw very well that he had to do with another Man than the *Mareschal*. *Turenne* withdrew to *Quesnoy* : where he waited for the fugitives two days ; and having set a good face on't, *Don John* durst not undertake to give him battle. He chose rather to go and attack the Town of *Conde*, which the Viscount of *Turenne* could not succour : But to lessen the loss of that, the Viscount made himself master of *la Capelle*,

pelle, which your Majesty had not found an opportunity to retake, since you had lost it, till now.

Another person, who should have had less courage than your Majesty, would have been quite stunn'd at the unhappy success of that siege. He would have suffered his Passion also to fall upon the prisoner. But you not only appeared unshaken in that reverse of fortune, but you took care yourself to justify the conduct of the *Mareschal*; and pay his ransom. For you have always been Gracious towards those who serve you: and the misfortunes which happen to them, only give you more consideration for them.

Fortune did not treat you so ill in *Italy* this year, as it had done the other. Your army under the command of the Dukes of *Merceaur* and *Modena*, took the Town of *Valenza* there in the sight of the *Spanish* Troops, who had not dared to give you battle in *Catalonia*. You maintained in like manner the honour which your arms had acquir'd in that Country: So that the lustre of your Crown beginning to obscure that of *Spain*, every one courted your Alliance in emulation one of another.

Indeed you omitted nothing that could attract Respect to you: and the *Swiss* your ancient Allies being dis-united with one another, you happily concluded their differences by your Mediation. Because your Majesty knows, that nothing ought to pass in *Europe*, which you do not take the cognizance of: and that Great Princes, like you, are to interpose their authority so, that none shall go to war but by their consent.

You received also into your Estates the Queen of *Sweden*, who had abdicated her Crown in favour of her Cousin-German. She was extremely satisfied with the reception which you gave her. But you had no reason to approve of her procedure, when she caused one of her principal Officers, who had given her some occasion of discontent, to be assassinated in one of your *Royal Houses*. And as people undertake to penetrate into things which they do not understand, it was believed there was some mystery betwixt them; and that the indiscretion of that Gentleman had drawn upon him his misfortunes. Such discourses so very much to the disadvantage of that Princess, joyned with the little satisfaction which she understood that you had at what had happened, induced her to depart sooner than she had otherwise done. She betook her self to *Rome*, which she had chosen for the place of her retreat: and having there made her *abjuration*, she came to know in a private life, that there are a thousand distastes, which one does not look for, when one hath never experienced it before.

Your Majesty had at that time a business before you, which was as nice as any you had ever had since your ascension upon the Throne. I mean that of the *Jansenists*: a Sect so much the more dangerous, as that it covered it self under the Cloak of Piety. At *Rome* they were condemn'd: and you believing, that after that you were not to suffer them in your Estates, you obliged those of them to depart from thence, who would not subscribe to the decrees of the *Holy Father*. But as their party was strong, they did not cease, though absent, to keep up a correspondence there. All

Paris

Paris became fill'd with their Writings : and people ran to them with so much greediness, that they even said, that *Rome* was mistaken in condemning them. Their manner of life imposed very much also in their favour. For they did nothing to appearance, which did not tend towards perfection : and all that could be found to be blamed in the Doctrine which they taught, was this ; that they made the Gates of Paradise too streight. In fine, it was dangerous to hearken to them. Because their words were nothing but honey for the most purified Souls ; and it was only those, who made a difficulty of recovering from their lapses, which cast them into despair. But your Majesty presuming, that it was not for you to dive into the bottom of such sort of things, you kept your self to the decree of the Pope : and ordered the *Sorbonne* to refute the writings, which appeared in publick. They took all care to do so. In the mean time, some of the Doctors having refused to submit themselves to the opinion of the others, which was conformable to that which had been established at *Rome*, that *Faculty* turned them out of the College ; and your Majesty approved of it : because it was a means to avoid the Schism, which was just ready to rise.

And certainly a wise and prudent King ought to cut off the way to all sorts of Novelties ; especially in the business of religion ; the consequences whereof are always of a greater moment than all the rest. Without this, there would be no security neither for the State, nor for the Conscience : and it would but lye in the power of any false *Devote*, to make a Religion his own way : in which he would not fail of having of approvers, so he but

carried things up to excess. Because the mind of Man is formed in such a manner, that it finds itself inflamed with a great respect at the sight of those, whom it imagines to be the most Perfect: not considering, that when one over-stretches the matter so, one hath no regard to humane frailty, to which however it must still be accommodated.

Your Majesty set upon, soon after, the siege of *Cambray*. But although it was what you did with your usual prudence, from whence there was reason to hope for a good issue, your good conduct was obliged to *cede* to Fortune. The enterprize depended upon diligence: and your Majesty reckoned, that your lines would have been made, before your Enemies, who were a great way off, should have notice of it. But by ill luck, the humour took the Prince of *Conde*, to take a review of his Troops the day after, that yours were encamped before the place. So that being then on horseback when the News came to him of it, he marched away the same hour; and chose his time so well, that he passed a-cross your Army without being observed. It was convenient for you to raise the siege after that: but as you sought to repair that affront by some enterprize of great fame, you began the siege of *Montmedy*.

The Enemy, who were extraordinary high upon what had befallen you at *Cambray*, flattered themselves that they would make you receive the same Check before the other place. The Prince of *Conde*, who was their Hero, was desired to take the care of it. But the Viscount of *Turenne*, who observed him, having marched day and night with a part of the Troops under his command, the *Marschal de la Ferté*, whom you had charged with
that

that expedition, found himself in so good a posture, that although his lines might not be yet finished, the Prince of *Conde* durst not undertake to attack him. So you reduced that strong place under your obedience: whilst the Viscount of *Turenne* went to rejoin his army again, after the departure of the Prince of *Conde*: who, as great a Captain as he was, could not yet hinder that Viscount from taking of *St. Venant*.

As he saw that, he set down himself before *Ardres*, in conjunction with *Don John of Austria*: hoping either that the Viscount of *Turenne* would give over his Enterprize, or that he would leave him to finish his own without troubling him. It seem'd too, that he should sooner come to an end of his, than the Viscount; by reason that *St. Venant* was defended by a good Garison, and that on the contrary there was scarce any body in *Ardres*. But the Viscount of *Turenne* who knew, that one of the best Qualities of a General, is, not to lose a moment of time, employed himself with such great diligence, that he obliged the Enemy to Capitulate two days sooner than the Prince of *Conde* expected it. Against whom he at the same time marched: which the Prince having the news of, he began to be out of all heart: because if he had only given him four hours more, he had made himself Master of *Ardres*. Indeed he was just come from springing a Mine, which had done all the execution that could be desired: so that there was no likelihood, that the Governor could hold out longer: but learning that the succour was so near at hand for him, he would not Capitulate. The Prince who saw himself not so strong as the Viscount of *Tu-*

renne, chose to raise the siege. Which was however to give an *Elogium*, himself, to the Viscount of *Turenne* : whose diligence had made him fail in the relieving of *Montmedy*, and in the taking of *Ardres*.

It is a thing therefore so necessary in a General, not to lose a moment of time, that when that quality is wanting in him, he can never hope to be a good Commander. For in war All depends sometimes upon an instant ; and he who does not know how to serve himself of that, does not deserve to have a great esteem.

The Viscount of *Turenne* did not put an end to his Campaign yet, with what he had done : he possessed himself of *la Motte* in the Forrest, and of several forts upon the Canal of *Bourbourg*, and after all made himself the Master of *Mardike*.

That which passed in *Catalonia*, would not deserve to be remember'd, if it was not, that it is good to let it be seen, that if your Majesty did not make such great conquests there, it is because you thought it enough to have those preserved, which you had made on that side already. That Country, which is separated from *Roussillon* and *Cerdanna* by a Chain of Mountains of a prodigious height, and whose Avenues are so streight, that two men can scarce pass of a front, seems to be ordained for another Sovereign ; and that it is to go to force Nature, to re-unite them under the same dominion. So your Majesty contenting your self with the bounds, which God seems to have put for the separation of your State from that of the King of *Spain*, you were resolved not to enter into his further than to let him see, that you had

had forces sufficient to guard your *own*. So all that which passed there was in light skirmishes, and it was almost always the same thing to the time of the peace.

Therefore the Prince of *Conti*, who commanded in that Country the year foregoing, observing that there was no great honour for him to acquire there, desired of your Majesty to go to succeed in the place of Prince *Thomas*, who was dead. You granted him it : but it had been of more account, that he had tarried in *Roussillon*; since his passing into *Italy* was but to raise the siege of *Alexandria della Paglia*, which he undertook in conjunction with the Duke of *Modena*.

If your Majesty will know, why you had more often in that Country ill fortune, than in any other, it will be easie for me to give you an account of it. Which is, that the *Spaniards* look upon the *Milanese* as a thing of the utmost consequence for them ; and whose loss would draw on with it that of all the other Estates which they possess in that Country. So every time that it is attack'd, they make all the efforts imaginable to relieve it. Besides, the good wishes of the Princes of *Italy* are not ordinarily for you, when you carry your arms thither. They are exceedingly pleased to have your protection : but they would not love your neighbourhood. From whence I conclude, that the less that you shall be able to trouble their repose, it will be always the better for you. You ought to be satisfied to have a door, whereby to succour them in case of necessity : and provided that you would not suffer, that any *Potentate*, and *Spain* above all, should make any attempt upon them, you will be always
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in great reputation there. All that seems to me therefore that you are to do in that Country, is, to keep up the Alliance which you have with the Duke of *Savoy*: with whom a good understanding is not only necessary for you for the conversation of *Casal*, but for that of *Pignerol* also. The Alliance of the other Princes is very unprofitable, and may even be disadvantageous to you, in this; that it making the rest suspect that you should have some great designs upon their liberty, they would be apt to enter into a league against you. I know well, that in the splendour in which your Majesty is at this day, a league of the Princes of *Italy* against you would but turn to their confusion, if it was not sustained by the forces of all *Europe*. But you must have a care, that they should not serve as Trumpets to the other *Powers*, who are jealous enough of your Majesty, to seek to disturb your prosperity. You ought besides, to avoid every thing that may alarm the *Suiss*; with whom you have more to do than you are aware: For if they should withdraw their Troops which they give you, it would be to deprive you of a succour, without which you would not know how to pass. I shall add to that, that in such a revolution as that, the Duke of *Savoy* might make his escape from you; and by his defection your frontiers, which are not fortified on that side, would have a great deal to suffer.

I know very well, that when the business is upon making of War, one examines not only the means which are to be had in order to succeed with it, but also what the product and the conclusion will be. I know by consequence, that those Princes are too wise, than to declare themselves

selves against your Majesty: from whom alone it is, that they can hope for succour in case of their oppression; and against whom they cannot but Arm those *Powers*, as ought to be suspected by them. Indeed to whatever branch it is of the House of *Austria*, to which they address themselves, they have equally a reason to be afraid of it. If that of *Germany* pretends, that they are *Fendatories* to the Empire, the reins whereof which it holds give it an occasion to command them; that of *Spain* hath over them the right of *Convenience*, which is no less powerful than all the others. So to what side soever they turn themselves, they will find their Accounts much better to maintain a friendship with your Majesty, than to address elsewhere. Only you must correspond to it on your part. Because when one sees ones self slighted, the resentment which one hath does not give one leave always to reflect upon what one should do: and the desire which one hath to be revenged, is sometimes so strongly impressed upon the heart, that one buys it often to ones cost.

Amongst so many important businesses as your Majesty had on all sides, your mind was no less attentive to every thing, which could procure the good and the repose of your own Subjects. There was no year, in which you did not make some good ordinances: Amongst which I ought not to forget that of forbidding Pages and Lacquies to wear Swords: and you ordered, that it should be observed so exactly, that the confusions which happen'd every day upon that occasion began to cease. Your people were obliged to you also for delivering them from the importunity of the Poor: the multitude whereof was so great through the idleness

idleness of the most part of them, who loved rather to beg than to work, that one was not at quiet in any place for them. The Streets were all covered with them as well as the Churches; where one could not say ones prayers, but one was interrupted at every minute. You caused them to be shut up in the *Hospital General*: and the order which was published for it, made the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the maimed to recover, and did such a great number of miracles as never had been seen before in that kind. Because the abuse was so great, that those lazy people put themselves in the ways upon heaps of straw; where their members appeared, as if they were dislocated, to procure them the more compassion: but when they saw, that they were about to be shut up, they became whole and streight, and worked like others.

The Alliance which your Majesty had contracted with the *English*, gave you a means the year following to make use of their Shipping to attack *Dunkirk*: and having invested it by Land and by Sea, *Don John of Austria* ran thither to relieve it, together with the Prince of *Conde*. Their army was the greater for a *New Rebel*, whom your Majesty had nevertheless loaded with favours: But as he pretended to have reason to complain of your Minister, he covered himself with that cloak to fall in his Fidelity. It was the Marechal *d'Hocquincourt*: who endeavoured to make the City of *Peronne*, which he was the Governor of, to declare in favour of the party to which he went. But the Loyalty of his Son, joyned with that of the Inhabitants, preserved that place to your Majesty,

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The importance of *Dunkirk* obliged the Enemy to hazard all, rather than to let it be lost. So that being come to observe the lines, the Viscount of *Turenne* drew out to give them battle. The Troops of your Majesty in this action justified the hopes which you had conceived of their valour: and having defeated the army of the Enemy, the Town surrender'd it self to your General. You came thither your self to put it into the hands of the *English*; to whom it was to appertain in consequence of the treaty which you had made with them. Because to hinder that they did not joyn themselves with your Enemies, it was convenient for you to take that way, notwithstanding that it was a trouble to you to see so fine and so important a Town to fall into the hands of any other than you. You contented your self to have one condition executed in it, which was to the advantage of the *Catholicks*; and by which they were to enjoy a liberty of Conscience, contrary to what the *English* practised in their other Estates. But the necessity which had obliged you to put them in the possession, obliged them at the same time to grant to you a demand so just.

The defeat of the Enemy opened the door to you to still greater Conquests. *Graveling*, *Bergues*, *Furnes*, *Dixmuyde*, *Menin*, *Oudenarde*, *Ypres*, and some other places recognized your Sovereignty. But the joy which there was for that, was but imperfect, by reason of a fear which we had of losing you. For it was at that time, that you were so sick at *Calais*, that it was believed you could never recover. It was remarkable to see the sadness in which all your Court was, and all your Army at it. Every one in a consternation which cannot

cannot be expressed. Only you appeared always the same; and endeavoured to console the Queen your Mother, and the Cardinal *Mazarine*, who were in a despair for you at the head of your bed. At last you were given over by the Physicians: and they were forced to have a recourse to *Emetick Wine*, which was not as yet in use at that time, but it was what was ordered you by a man who was sent for purposely from *Abbeville*, upon the reputation which he had of having wrought great cures. It was so believed upon that, that you were perfectly lost, that there were two or three of your Courtiers, who went to make their Compliments to your Brother upon the fine succession which was fallen to him. And really they had already drawn the curtains of your bed; believing you to be so quite dead, that your *Almoners* were ready to begin the *De Profundis*. But you discover'd just in that very instant some signs of life: which letting them see, that they were deceived, they gave the *Emetick Wine* to you; which you would not take, till after you had demanded of Cardinal *Mazarine*, whether his opinion was, that it could mend you.

He told you, that it was good to hope so: which armed you with such a resolution, that you took it all in a breath, and without making the least grimace at it. The same day you had a *Crisis*, which put them very well in hopes; and they began in reality to discover some change: which obliged the man, in whose hands you were, to give you a new dose. This perfectly did the business for you: and the youth, in which your Majesty was, being of a great help in all sorts of distempers, you recovered so entirely your health
again,

again, that in a month after one could not perceive that you had been sick.

The loss, which there was like to have been of your Sacred Person, created a desire in the Queen your Mother to marry you. Her inclination, as well as yours, was on the part of the *Infanta of Spain*: whose Alliance should produce a general Peace, and give besides to your Majesty a Princess of an exemplary Virtue, and whose beauty was not contemptible. But the *Spaniards* who feared, that that Alliance would but throw them one day under your dominion, because she was the Presumptive Heiress of their Estates, discovered such a dreadful aversion to it, that you were obliged to cast your Eyes upon the Princess of *Savoy*.

Your Majesty took a journey to *Lyons*, with the design to see her your self; and to conclude that Matter. The Dutches of *Savoy* came to meet you there, with her daughter: and you was so pleased with that Princess, that the Dutches her Mother was inflamed with an unspeakable joy at it, knowing that there could not a greater happiness befall her. All your Courtiers believing already in like manner, that the business was done, began to regard that Princess as the person, whom Heaven ordained to be their Queen. But the *Spaniards* foreseeing, that if that passed, all *Flanders* would be ready to fall under the power of your Majesty, and that after that Conquest, you would oblige them also to restore to you *Navarre*, which they retained unjustly from you, they sent *Pimentel* to *Lyons* with a power to break that Match, and to propose that of the *Infanta*.

Your Majesty communicated it at the same time to the Princess; whom you endeavoured to persuade,

suade, that the inclination which you had for her render'd you less sensible, than you should have been at another time, of that News. But as those words, as sincere soever as they might be, were not sufficient to console her, she returned back to *Turin* in a great affliction for her ill fortune.

De Lionne, being in Conference with *Piementel*, laid down the first draughts of a treaty of peace: whereof the Cardinal *Mazarine* desiring to have all the honour, he went in Person to the frontier of *Spain*, whether his *Catbolick Majesty* sent on his side *Don Lewis de Haro*, his first Minister. They held their Conferences together in the Island of *Pheasants*, upon the river *Bidassoa*, which separates your Estates from those of the King of *Spain*. And being there agreed upon every thing that *De Lionne* and *Piementel* had left to be done, you sent the Mareschal *de Grammont* to *Madrid*, to demand the *Infanta* of her father. That Ceremony being over, with all those that were to precede your Marriage, you went your self to *Bayonne* with a stately Court; after first you had punished the inhabitants of *Marseilles*, who took their time so ill, that they had chosen to revolt then, when you were at the point of having a peace. There you espoused that Princess, and pardoned the Prince of *Conde*; to whom you restored the Offices and the Governments, which he had before his revolt. The most part of your Conquests continued to you by that Treaty. But you was obliged to give back *Lorain*, a road excepted to go into *Alsatia*, which was to remain under your Sovereignty; and the Dutchy of *Bar* excepted, which was in like manner to appertain to you.

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In relation to the fear of the *Spaniards*, which was here spoken of but now, you remedied that in the best way, that could be thought of on one side and the other. You *Renounced* to the Succession of *Spain* in formal terms, and with all the *Clauses*, which that Crown was willing to exact. And thus a Peace being given to your Subjects, after so long a War, you thought upon nothing next, but how to make *them* enjoy it, and to enjoy it your self.

C H A P. III.

An Account of what passed from the Peace of Pyranees, to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

BEfore your Majesty came back again unto *Paris*, you made a stay at *Fontainbleau*, to give time to the Inhabitants of that great City to prepare themselves to receive you. The Entrance which you made into it was so stately and so magnificent, that nothing hath been seen like it in the memory of Man. Your Majesty rested at the coming in to the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, where they had raised a *Throne* for you of so great beauty, that it was worthy of you, and of the Queen your Consort. There you received the complements of the Sovereign Courts, and of the body of the City; after which you repaired to the *Louvre*, preceded by your Nobility, in the midst of so great a concourse of people, that it seemed as if all *France* was run thither to admire you.

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Amongst all these occasions of satisfaction, you applied your self according to your Custom to the government of your State : and your cares extending themselves as well to your Allies as to your own People, you put an end to a great difference, which was arisen betwixt the Crowns of the North, and which had already produced a cruel War. All *Europe* was even ready to enter into it ; so true it is, that there needs but one spark to cause a great conflagration. But you having remedied that by your prudence, you found your self continually more and more in a condition to enjoy the repose, which you had attained by your virtue to.

I had not as yet the honour to be known particularly to your Majesty ; though at the death of *Monsieur le Roi*, the first *Commis* to *Monsieur le Tellier*, the Secretary of State for the War, he had made me to supply his Office, in order to preserve it for *Monsieur de Villacerf* his relation and mine, who was not yet of Age to execute it. After that, I was enter'd into the service of the Cardinal *Mazarine* : with whom I had the honour to speak to your Majesty : but as it was only *en passant*, and to answer to the questions which you asked me, I ran a hazard of being a long time unknown to you, if the Cardinal who perceived himself a dying every day had not told you, that I was one very well understood in the Revenue, and capable of redressing the *mismanagements* which were committed there.

Two things made him speak that good of me, to your Majesty. The one was, the abuses which were actually practised there : the other, the good order which I had brought in his affairs,
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which he had left to my conduct. I know not, whether I should not also add two others to the same account. The one, the hatred which he bore to *Monsieur Fouquet*, the *Surintendant* of the Revenue, with whom he had had some words but a very few days before; and who thought much too well of himself, because he was besides the *Sollicitor-General* to the Parliament: The other, because he saw him with one foot in the grave; which made him think of quitting the World and the grandeurs of it. However it was, your Majesty was pleased, that I should have some particular conferences with you, in which I was so happy as to give you satisfaction. And this was the occasion that you told me, that I should draw up for you some Memoirs at large of all that I had the honour to entertain you with: which was what I did the next day, and you shew your self to be very well pleased with them.

In the mean time the Duke of *Lorain*, who complained that he had been sacrificed in the Treaty, came to *Paris*: where he put every thing on foot to endeavour to have it reformed upon his account. But after all that that he had committed, as well in the life time of the late King your Father, as under the reign of your Majesty, for which reason he had been dispossessed of his Estates, there was no probability of his succeeding. Indeed you concluded upon very good grounds, from that which had happened in the time past, that there was no security to take his word for the time to come. So you rejected all that he proposed to you: and signified to him, that it was fit he kept himself to what had been determined. As he saw that, he took the Cardinal by his *weak side*:

and caused a proposal to be made to him of a marriage of one of his Nieces, either with him, or with Prince *Charles* his Nephew, the brother of Prince *Francis*; pretending that he was not as yet very well resolved, whether he should marry again or no. For the Dutches *Nicolle* was dead at that very time, and he might make himself a more solid match than that was, which he had done in her life time with the Princess of *Cantecroix*. The Advantage which your Minister found in this, carried him to forget the interests of your Majesty. In which nevertheless he was extremely to blame; upon the account that He, on whom a Prince depends in his affairs, ought always to prefer those to every thing which can be proposed to him for his own particular interest. I have had the honour to have put this rule into practice: and in a little time I will alledge an example of it to your Majesty: in which you will see, that an advantageous Match which was proposed to me for my eldest Son, was so far from gaining me, that it did not tempt me; because I believed that the service of your Majesty was concerned in it.

The Duke finding that he had set by his Policy his affairs on in a good way, played the *Lover* himself; upon the account that he saw that the Cardinal had more an inclination for him, than for his Nephew. Because he thought by that means to gain time, and that he should have that time to put some new invention in practice. To this dissimulation he added another, to protract the proposed marriage still longer. He counterfeited himself sick: but that pretended sickness not hindering him from pursuing the success of his

his affair, he got the Duke of *Guise* to act in it; whom he deceived the first, with an intent that his good credit which is usually the support of a Negotiation, should make the Cardinal go on vigorously for his interests.

The Duke of *Guise*, who really was a Prince full of integrity, and whose great and generous soul would not have permitted him to serve as an instrument to deceive any person; This Duke, I say, believing him to be in good earnest, acted for him with all the warmth which he could hope for in a Prince of his blood: and as the Cardinal knew him to be incapable of a Cheat, he placed so much confidence in him, that he signed a Treaty in the name of your Majesty, which was much more to the advantage of the Duke of *Lorain*, than that which had been held in the Island of *Pheasants*. After which he waited to see his Niece the Dutcheß of *Lorain*; whether it was, that she should marry the Duke, or the Prince *Charles*. But that Duke, who took a pride in never keeping to what he promised, having thus obtained all that he could wish for, disclaimed the Duke of *Guise*, who had engaged, that he should marry his Niece immediately after the Treaty.

It will appear perhaps strange, that that Minister, who had so great a share of nicety, did not oblige him to ratifie what the Duke promised to him on his part, the first. But it is to be known, that he was not willing that your Majesty should understand, that that was the price which the Duke was to pay for the Access which he had to your favour. So by seeking to be too nice, he found himself cheated: which lets us see, that one

is never to place a confidence in persons of a certain Character; and that besides, the excess of cunning is sometimes more invifible, than if there was lefs of it.

There is a likelihood, that the Cardinal who was an *Italian*, and who by consequence loved revenge, as do all thofe of that Nation, would not have pardoned him. And it was really impoffible, in the Poft in which he was, but that he fhould find fome favourable occafion for his revenge. But being come to betake to his bed, it was fit for him to think of things of a greater confequence; which was to render an Account to God. As he had been accuftomed to have every one render an Account to him, without his rendering of his own to any, this Account perplex'd him to a degree, that he had fome convulfions at it extraordinary. However, believing that in the condition in which he found himfelf, he fhould hazard nothing, although he fhould tell the truth, he accused himfelf with having robbed your Majefty and the People. Monsieur *Joli*, the Parfon of *St. Nicholas de Chams*, who was his Director, told him, that he could not give him abfolution, unlefs he did make reftitution. And as that, as very rich as he was, was above his power, and that befides he had ftill fo great a paffion for riches, that he could not poffibly refolve to ftrip himfelf of them, he had run the hazard of dying without receiving it, if your Majefty had not had the goodnefs to make a gift to him, of what he might have taken from you. Monsieur *Joli* was fatisfied with the declaration which your Majefty fo made: and this having relaxed his mind again, he died more quietly than he would have done otherwife.

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Your Majesty the same Night commanded me to come into your Cloſet: where you inquired of me, whether he had not hid any effects, and the place where they might be? I told you every thing that I knew of them: and you poſſeſſed your ſelf of an abundance of riches: and yet however left ſo much to his Niece *Hortenſia*, whom he had made his heiress, upon condition that her Husband ſhould carry the name and the arms of *Mazarine*, that it raiſed a jealouſie in all the Princes of the blood. But your Majesty, who had all along had ſo much goodneſs for him, continued it to him ſtill after his death, without being willing that one ſhould meddle in any ſort with his inheritance.

All *France* now had its Eyes turned upon your Majesty, to ſee how you would govern yourſelf in theſe beginnings, in which you were left to your own proper conduct. For although that before now, you had made it to appear by a thouſand things, that you would be one day a great King; yet the ill education which you had had, joyned with this that you had always been, as it were, under the *ferula* of that Miniſter, made it to be doubted, whether you had conducted yourſelf by your own proper movements, or whether you had not followed thoſe of another. Moreover, as the Vivacity of our Nation does not give us much of eſteem for that which ſeems to us to be dull and heavy, there were many who took for a defect, that air of *Wiſdom*, which you have always had in all your actions. They could not believe that a Prince of your age ought to be ſo *Sage*; eſpecially in a Court, where there was an infinite number of hot-headed perſons, and who ſpeak all

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that they think without making the least reflexion upon it:

But I, in the first conferences which I had the honour to have with you, judged quite otherwise of your Majesty: and you weighed all things so well then, that I was convinced that the advantages of a good Natural Genius prevailed in you over so ill an education. All your subjects did not delay to be of my sentiment: particularly when they saw, that as much as they had taken their liberty under the Ministry of Cardinal *Mazarine*, no less did you oblige them to give you the respect which was due to you. The just and pertinent answers which you made also to the Ambassadors, who resided at your Court, raised a great opinion of your Wisdom so, that in a trice, the Strangers as well as the *French*, were undeceived of certain discourses which had been held to your disadvantage. For there needs but the least appearance to cause a Prince, who is upon the throne, to be slandered: whereas there must be a *pile* of considerable occurrences, and of actions full of conduct, to put them in a repute. Which ought to let them know that they are never to do any thing, but what is very well to the purpose: because every one having their Eyes turned upon them, it is but with the intent to do justice to them, according as their actions shall be good or bad.

But your Majesty had nothing for you to apprehend on that side: And I am bound to give this testimony of you further to posterity, that you did one action, which deserves to acquire you an immortal glory. As you were forward, as I have said above, with the Ladies, you fell in love with

with the eldest of the four Nieces, who were yet at Court : and you loved her even so passionately, that those who had not the honour to know you, believed that that passion would be apt to make you forget your duty to your self. The Neice she fomented it too ingeniously enough ; and sought only how to inflame you still more, by those artificial windings and turnings, which are so well understood amongst the Women of wit, and who would make an advantage of their Conquests. But so far were you from falling into the snares which she spread for you, that you consented that she should be married : And you saw her depart from you with a *dry eye*, notwithstanding her tender reproaches of you ; and that your heart reproached you to your self for being so very cruel to you, when you might have procured your self a felicity, which is so much the more moving, as one imagines that there is no other in this life besides, when one is in the condition as you were.

This Victory over your self was followed by another, upon the occasion of the same person. The sweetnelles which she had tasted at Court, as likewise perhaps the remembrance of your Majesty, which she could not put away from her, having occasioned her to lead but an ill life with her Husband, she came presently back into *France*. It was believed, and many persons are of that opinion, that she had strong hopes, that a flame which had been so ardent and so lively would easily kindle again. So she was drawing with full sail towards the Court, when your Majesty, being informed of it, sent a Courier to her to order her to retire into a Convent.

I do not take care, Sir, how I anticipate upon the time, in which this passed : and to put down things in order, I should have done better to remit the discourse of it to another place. But the congruity which this circumstance hath with the other which I have recited, hath not permitted me to defer any longer the speaking of it : besides that this piece of work will admit more easily of a transposition, than if I undertook to do your history in form.

In the mean time your Majesty not being able to confide in the unquiet and restless spirit of the Duke of *Lorain*, and fearing lest he should enter into Cabals which were prejudicial to the good of your State, you took a design to marry in *France* Prince *Charles* his Nephew, to whom of right did belong the Estates of *Lorain* and *Bar*. Prince *Francis* his Father, who was living at *Paris*, was overjoy'd that your Majesty had such good intentions for his Son; who without you could not oblige his Uncle to do him justice. He proposed to your Majesty a match with *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*; and you gave your consent to it; because it was indifferent to you, what the Match was, provided that it put the Duke of *Lorain* out of a Condition to hurt you. *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, who had given a good ear before to the proposition, which had been made to her of that of the Duke of *Anguien*, whilst he was but an Infant, hearkned with yet a greater pleasure to this, which was offered her of a Prince of a handsome meen, and whose age was more proportionable to her own. She even fell in love with him to that degree, that she became jealous of her Sister; whom the Prince of *Lorain* would have

have liked much better than her, but that your Majesty did design her for another. In reality you had promised her to the Duke of *Tuscany*, the Eldest Son of the Duke of *Florence*, whom she Married soon after. And yet, altho' these two might know, that they were not Born for one another, they did not forbear to see each other; and the Prince of *Lorain*, who was inflamed for her every day more and more, Sacrificed a Picture to her which he had of *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. The vanity which all Ladies have of glorying in their Conquests, especially when they would disparage a Rival, caused her to reveal the Sacrifice which had been made to her, although she seemed to have a considerable interest to keep the thing secret. Your Majesty, really, was not to think well of this: Besides, that before her speedy passing into *Italy*, to go to join her Husband, it was not convenient that he should suspect her of any Love Intrigue. But all these reflexions having not kept her from making that false step; So true it is, that Youth, Prudence, and Love, are rarely of a Company; *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* no sooner knew of it, but she broke with that Prince. His Father, who was extremely concerned that his Son should miss of a Match which was in all respects so considerable, did whatever he could to recover it again: But the Princess, whose Pride was answerable to the Grandeur of her Birth, despised all the satisfactions which they promised to her.

Your Majesty would not offer her any violence, although you might think that that Affair was necessary to the Good of your State. In the mean time, Prince *Charles* having lost himself so excellent

lent an occasion by his own fault, they proposed to him the Dutchess of *Longueville*, who was fallen a Widow not long since, and who had also a very great fortune. But whether it was, that he could not forget the Dutchess of *Tuscany*, or that the report which ran about, that that Princess had some imperfections, might distaste him against that proposition, he could not perswade himself to make those steps as were proper, in order to come to succeed there.

The Duke of *Lorain*, who would not part with his Estates, had had a great disquiet, that his Nephew should Marry *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, although he had made a shew as if the thing was done with his consent. And yet knowing the aversion which he had to the Dutchess of *Nemours*, he was eager to perswade him to her, under a design to clear himself with Your Majesty, from the suspicion in which you were, that he had set a thousand Wheels on work to hinder the other Marriage. But the more that he made that his care, the more Prince *Charles* was estranged from it; who, however, felt in himself an inclination for *Mademoiselle de Nemours*, the Niece to the late Husband of the Dutchess; and who, certainly, had a little more wherewithal to engage him than her Aunt. He indeed gave himself so absolutely to her, that he forgot entirely the Dutchess of *Tuscany*: which Your Majesty being informed of by his Father, who did not at first approve of the Match, because he went more upon the account of Fortune than Beauty, you obliged him to consent to it; and then there was no more to be done, but to do the same thing with relation to the Duke of *Lorain*. But the little disposition
which

which he had to surrender his Estates to him, made him that he opposed a thousand difficulties against it. Which Your Majesty finding to be without foundation, you let him know, that unless he did take up a resolution which was conformable to your Will, and to reason in the thing, it should be dispatched without consulting of him any more. This Sentence was as a stroak of Thunder to him; and believing that he should scarce bring it about, to induce your Majesty to revoke it, he offered to you to declare you Heir to his Estates, upon condition that you pleased to grant him the Honour of your Protection against his Nephew.

His design was but to delude you in making that proposition to you : But having had the Policy to insinuate to your Majesty, that the Right of his Nephew to the Estates of *Lorain* and *Bar*, was not so well established in his favour, but he could dispute it with him; and having withal recited some examples, by which it did appear, that the *Salique* Law had a place in those two Dutchies, your Majesty treated with him, and left off the pursuit of that Marriage, although there was nothing wanting to it but the Consummation, and the Ceremonies for it had been already dispatched by the Solicitor.

See how Interest acts often upon great Souls, as well as upon those of common People ! And yet it is what is not so pardonable in them, by reason that they ought to have more care of their Reputation than of their Fortune, which is already high enough, than for them to seek after any new Establishment at the expence of their Glory. Really, as little soever as the difficulty may be, which there is in an affair, they ought to declare

clare themselves for Justice ; and not to think to support by force, a Right which is not able to stand of it self. This, which hath been now spoken of, was of that nature ; and it would have been to be wished, that your Majesty had made that reflexion upon it. You had seen that it was a *Charm* which was given you, only the better to deceive you : Besides, that this Treaty contained in it things, which rendered the execution of it impossible, as I will make it appear hereafter to your Majesty.

This Affair, which I have treated of so all in a breath, because I found my self engaged in it, in speaking of the design which your Majesty had to Match *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, ought, nevertheless, to have been Postponed to a many others, to make things to come in order : Only the same excuse, which I offered for my self here above, will serve me again upon this occasion, without my needing to make use of another.

However it is, your Majesty having discovered to me, in all the Conferences which I had had with you, a great desire to go to Work to purpose upon the Reformation of your Kingdom, you ordered the *Memoires* to be given to you, which had been drawn up in the time of the *Cardinal of Richlieu* ; and whereunto, the precipate Death of that Minister had hindred him, that he could not go to work himself. You found in them a great many things to reject, because the time which was passed since that, had put a change to the face of Affairs ; and what was good under his Ministry, was no more so now. You chose, however, the good that was there, and left the bad ; in which you conducted your self with so
much

much Judgment, as I cannot sufficiently commend in you.

You were resolved, in the mean time, to call to an account the *Farmers* of your Revenue, who abusing your Minority, had done their own business at the expence of yours. To this purpose you laid a design to begin with the Master of them, who appeared to you to be the most culpable. I mean, the *Surintendant of the Finances*, whose abuses you had been made acquainted with by me; and he was so fully sensible of them himself, that to avoid the punishment which he deserved, he proposed to shelter himself from it by a greater Crime. To this end, he had purchased *Belle-Isle* of the House of *Reiz*, where he designed to make head against your Majesty; assuring himself, that he should have a great many of the Governors of Provinces and of the Frontier places on his side; to whom he immediately sent Pensions. He had even made ready a Project of it, which was found amongst his Papers when he was taken up; so that if one had but done him Justice, one should have then sent him upon a Scaffold.

The Office, which he had in the Parliament, giving your Majesty to believe, after what you had seen, that it was dangerous to lay him under the hands of Justice, before he was discharged from thence, you effected that your self, under a pretence, that having taken upon you, since the Death of the Cardinal, all the Affairs of State, that office was very insignificant to you. *Fouquet* fell into the Snare; and having sold to one of his friends, you went into *Bretagne*, where you had resolved to cause him to be Arrested at the
same

same time that you should possess your self of *Belle-Isle*. The thing was executed in the manner in which you had laid the Project, and having appointed his *Commissaires*, you ordered them to get ready his Process.

Monsieur le Tellier was his capital Enemy ; but the sweetness of his Politicks made him, that he would not, however, act neither directly nor indirectly against him. He began to enter into a jealousy of this, that your Majesty shew so much good will to me ; and as he should not have been sorry, that your Majesty had had less confidence in my Services, he would, if he had been able, have made the treatment to pass for an Injustice, which was used to *Fouquet*. To see here, how those who affect the most to pass for Wise Men to the Publick, cannot dissemble themselves, when they think that their Interest is concerned. So that to judge of them, as one ought, one is not to run headlong upon appearances. But a Man of Wit must wait for such opportunities, as may work upon the Passions. For it is then that he is to make a Judgment of the Wisdom of a Person ; and not at a time when every thing which is done, bears so little a conformity to him, that it is not to be admired, if it is not at all to be perceived.

Your Majesty erected also a Court of Justice to take the *Cognizance* of the *Farmers*, which was a thing that drew upon me the Public hatred ; because the number of those who flew thither was so great, that more than one half of *Paris* was concerned, either for themselves, or their Relations, or their Friends. Indeed, the prodigious richness of those *Blood-suckers* of your People was such, that they were allied to every thing that was
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of the most considerable, both of the Gown and of the Sword. They had also carried the Sale of the Offices to such an excessive height, that none but themselves could come up to it. *Fienbet* had offered no less than ten hundred thousand *Francks*, for that of the *Sollicitor General*. That of *President a Mortier* was valued at as much. That of *Master of the Requests* at a hundred and ten thousand Crowns: And that of a *Simple Counsellor* of the Parliament at two hundred, and I know not how many thousand Livres.

I had very well foreseen the effect, which this would work against me; and withal, that they would not fail to say, that there was no Faith in your Majesty; who after having been served with the Purfes of people in your necessity, payed your Debts by excessive Taxes, and sent even those persons to the Hospital, who before were the best provided in *Paris*. But, besides that the meanness of their Original was an infallible evidence, that they had not amassed those vast riches together but by their rapine; and that by consequence, it was no Injustice to bring them to disgorge; I made a great difference betwixt what had been done during your Minority, and what you would have done your self. For the one requires that ones Credit be still good; without which, a Prince will find no body who will assist him in his necessity: From whence there will arrive those inconveniences, as all the Prudence of man shall not be able to apply any remedy to. So that a Prince would be but ill advised, who should deprive himself by his unhappy Conduct of a Succour, which sooner or later he may have an occasion for: because, as little so-

ever as the time is that he reigns, there may happen things which cannot be foreseen. And these truly, are sometimes of such great consequences, that whatever his good Husbandry is, the Funds which he has made are not sufficient to supply him. One cannot lay up a Mass of Money so vast as that : And that which is laid up ought to be proportioned to that, which runs about in the State. Otherwise a Prince would diminish his Revenue his own self, by the inability in which he should cast his People to pay him : because there would be none but himself who would have Money.

A consequence so dangerous, 'obliges therefore a Prince to keep his Credit good. Yet that which he is to do, is not to allow so excessive a Gain to the *Farmers*, as that his People should be ruined thereby, as well as himself. For he sees plainly, that if he does not Husband his Affairs like a good Father of a Family, he will be obliged to lay Taxes upon Taxes. The Farmers, on their side, ought not to desire to become rich in so small a time : because it gives an occasion to Tax them : Whereas, when their Gain is moderate, one leaves them to enjoy the fruit of their labour in peace.

After these remarks, I come again to that which I was touching upon, in saying that there is a great difference betwixt what a Prince does of himself, and that which his *Minister* hath done during his Minority. This appears absolutely at the first sight : because if his Minister hath not had a care of his Affairs, there is no reason which obliges him to approve of that man's faults. He is not of a worse condition than a private person is, who may appeal when he will from what his
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his Guardian hath done contrary to his interests. Besides, that the people having ordinarily an irreconcilable hatred against the *Farmers*, to *scowre* the one off is to please the other. I add to this, That the time of a Minority being always grievous, and it being as it were impossible, that the Coffers of a Prince are not charged with a deal of Debts, he cannot seek to acquit himself of those by a sweeter method, and which will make a less outcry than this: Considering that it is but some particular men, who have an interest in it; and that the good of the Publick is so far from suffering, that they are glad of it; upon the account, that they had rather that the Prince should have his own substance, than those wretches; who whilst they are fatning themselves with it, have also committed very often a thousand violences.

Your Majesty discharged an infinite number of Debts by the means of this *Enquiry*. In the mean time God blessed your Marriage, and sent you a Son, who shows himself worthy of the Virtues of his Father. And your Majesty hath taken also such a great care of his Education, that that added to his good natural *Genius*, it would be a strange thing if he was less perfect.

You Married, much about the same time, to the Princess of *England*, your Brother; who had taken the Name of the Duke of *Orleans*, after the Death of your Uncle, who had left no Heirs Male. This Alliance continued your good Correspondence with the *English*: Who having lost *Cromwel* since the year 1658, had found his Son *Richard* to be so little deserving to possess his place, that they had now set their lawful King upon the Throne again. And now there happened in that

Country an Affair, which was upon the point of creating a new War to your Majesty. Your Ambassadour having sent his Coaches to the Entrance of the Ambassadour from *Sweden*, the Ambassador of the King of *Spain* appointed, to have his own Coaches to go the first persons, who stopped the Guides of his Horses : so that that *Spanish* Ambassadour obtained all he desired ; only his Triumph was not of a long duration. Your Majesty being justly in an indignation at this procedure, demanded a reparation of it of the King of *Spain* ; who let himself a little *be plucked by the Ear*, before he would agree to what you claimed. But your Majesty having sent Orders to the Ambassadour which you had at his Court, to signify to him, that without that, there would be presently a rupture betwixt the two Crowns ; the fear which he had of your Arms, brought him not only to disclaim his Ambassadour, but also to declare, that he did not pretend to dispute the precedence with your Majesty.

This Declaration was made by the Marquis de *Li Fuentes*, the Minister of his *Catholick* Majesty, who resided at your Court : And *that*, in the presence of the other Ambassadours and Ministers of Princes, who were there also ; and who gave testimony to their Masters, that this difference was ended to your satisfaction. In the mean time, you suppressed the Office of *Colonel General* of the *French* Infantry, which was vacant by the Death of the Duke of *Espernon* ; who had carried the Authority thereof to that height, that there wanted but a little of his being ready to *take up the Cudgel* with you. In reality he pretended to dispose of all the Offices of the Foot, without excepting

cepting from thence so much as the Companies of the Guards; which was a thing of that consequence, as a thousand inconveniences might arise from it.

You passed a number of good *Ordinances* also concerning the *Men of the Sword*: So that they became fit for Discipline, which was what they did not understand before. For there had reigned such a disorder amongst them, that there was almost as many Masters as Captains; especially in the old *Corps*, where they were so far from observing the Authority of Colonels, that they scarce acknowledged that of a General. You held your hand fast to that also, that the Soldiers should have all their Necessaries. And whereas before they went almost quite naked, and that in the same Company one was habited in gray, another in blue, another in green, and so of the rest; you ordered them to have Stockings and Shooes at all times when they wanted them, with such Habits as are uniform. And this Constitution hath appeared so fine and so necessary to other Princes, that they also have conformed to the same. So that your Majesty can boast, that it is you who hath procured to the Soldiery, throughout all *Europe*, the advantages which they enjoy at this day.

But there hath been nothing done which is of greater purpose upon their account, than the taking away from the Captains the Right, which they had before, to take the Cognizance of their Crimes: because the impunity which they hoped for from thence, induced them to commit a thousand disorders. Indeed there is nothing more unjust, in my opinion, than to remit the punish-

ment of a Crime into the hands of those, who have an interest in saving the Criminal ; and it is a thing well enough known, that a Captain, to whom it costs Money to raise another Soldier, is not so much a lover of Justice, as to buy it at his own cost.

This Reformation in your Revenue, and amongst your Men of the Sword, preceded all the others ; upon the account that it seemed to you to be the foundation of a solid and a secure Government. Your Majesties reason was, because when you should be strong there, in the one and the other, all the rest would follow all alone, without your meeting with the least difficulty in them. A Prince really, who hath Money and a good Army, attracts not only the respect of his own People, but also that of his Neighbours. It is the way to give him a great reputation, without which a Kingdom cannot flourish : Insomuch that a Prince, who hath a care of his Affairs, is to study entirely to get himself *that* ; in which there is a thousand times more of advantage, than in causing himself to be feared by unjust Enterprises, altho' they are successful to him. *Because* the one raises up against him the enmity of all the other States, whilst the other procures him their esteem and consideration. Now a State, which is found so to have such a great number of Enemies, receives sooner or later a *Mortal* blow from them, which they make it their endeavour to give it. Whereas, when its puissance is founded upon Right and Reason, it hath always its faithful *Allies*, and who do never fail it in its necessity. So that a well-advised Prince is never to go upon a War, unless it be just. For if it is but only Ambition, which

which puts the Sword in his hand, his ancient friends become presently his enemies: wherein one cannot blame them, because they do not find that their security is any greater than the others. And yet this truth, as evident as it is, and such as a Prince should never depart from, is not always the rule of their actions. A corrupt Minister endeavours to insinuate other Maxims; and unless they look into them very narrowly, they oftentimes embrace the shadow for the substance. I am sorry that this can possibly be said of your Majesty: But as flatterers are more to be afraid of you than your declared enemies, I shall willingly keep my self from being of their number. So that when there comes a time for it, I will let you see, that the Marquis of Louvois, abusing your Trust in him, hath lead you to commit an error that is contrary to your Interests, and which hath raised you the *World* of Enemies, which you have at present against you. For, although the flourishing Estate in which you are at this day, contains them under silence, I need only, for a proof of this truth, use the Answer, which was made to that Minister by the Baron *Del Val*: To whom he had said, as he was letting him see the Arsenal of *Doway*, That *if your Majesty had always a War, it would make a fine noise*. I believe it, replied he; and indeed I am certain, that that noise would be such, as all *Europe* will be awakened at it. I presume, it is not necessary to explain to your Majesty, what he meant by that: It is to be understood well enough of it self; and he could not more ingeniously reproach your Minister, with the great number of the Enemies which he hath made you. I know very well, that his Enterprises have

been fortunate ; and that that is the thing, which maintains his favour. But, if your Majesty pleases to reflect very well upon it, it would be a thousand times better, that you should not be so powerful, so that you should enjoy more repose. For you must now have continually your mind attent upon the Intrigues, which you know are carrying on at this day to your prejudice, in the Courts which were heretofore the most loving to you. And whereas they did concur with you at that time to your security, there is nothing now, that you ought to be more suspicious of than they.

If your Majesty is not enough sensible of the truths which I tell you, so as to give a perfect Credit to them, I humbly beg you to recall to your memory, that which happened to you in 1662, and to reconcile it with that, which hath happened to you since. You will be able to judge by that, how far Justice, sustained by a good Reputation, hath a power over those, who are the least accustomed to give ground : And I am fully persuaded, that if the like thing did happen to you at this day, they would not give you upon it such a ready satisfaction. The hopes, which they would have of being supported by your Enemies, would make them that they would not be concerned to be unjust ; and your Majesty would be obliged to prosecute, by the force of your Arms, that which cost you at that time no more than a threat of your recurring to them, in case they did not do Justice to you. I mean, the business which fell out at *Rome* to your Ambassador ; towards whom the *Corficans*, in the Guards of the Pope, failed so mightily in their respect, that to revenge some of their Comerades, who had been ill treated by
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his Servants, they went to insult him as far as into his own Palace. The Dutcheſs of *Crequi*, his Wife, had her ſhare alſo of their violences. As ſhe was coming back out of the City, they fell upon her, as they had done upon her Husband : in which ſhe had a Page killed, and ſome other Domeſticks wounded.

In fine, this diſorder went ſo far, that they were obliged, both of them, to retire to *St. Quirico*. Which your Maſteſty having Advice of, you made your Complaints of it to the Pope : who, encouraged by ſome Cardinals, who were not well affected to you, ſeemed to approve of the proceedings of the *Corſe*. But you kept your ſelf firm to the reparation which you claimed to have of that affront : and as Ambition had no part in your quarrel, the quality of your adverſary did not hinder you from being willing to take your ſatisfaction. Only he did not delay it ſo long, as till you had brought it to the laſt push, to do you juſtice : and becauſe you demanded nothing but what was juſt, he agreed, that the *Corſicans*, who had been uſed to ſerve in the Guards of the Pope, ſhould not only be caſhier'd, but that there ſhould be alſo a *Column* erected, in which there ſhould be mention made in letters of Gold, of the ſatisfaction which was given you. His Holineſs agreed alſo, that Cardinal *Chigi* ſhould come into *France* to beſeech you to accept of that reparation ; and for what was paſſed, to forget it.

See here an effect of that, that I have been juſt a ſpeaking of: and I mightily deceive my ſelf, as I did then remark, if in caſe there ſhould come to paſs at this day things after the ſame manner, you would receive again the ſame ſatisfaction. The
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reasons for it I have there observed to your Majesty : To which I shall add only, that the reputation of a Prince is altogether as necessary for him upon the account of his own Subjects, as upon the account of his Neighbours. For, if his Power is not founded but upon injustice and upon force, they will fear him, but they will never love him. Now fear without love ought not to satisfy his desires : because the one without the other is capable to produce more hurt, than good. A fear of that nature subsists no longer than the time is, in which they see him in a condition to oblige every thing to yield to his will. But as soon as the fortune changes, contempt succeeds presently in the place of it. On the contrary Love does not change, although the fortune be changed : and the more a Prince is unhappy, the more efforts one makes to restore to him the prosperity which he hath lost.

Your Majesty who maintained so gloriously your Interests in Foreign Countrys, did a thing upon your Frontier, which was extreamly serviceable to you. You bought of the *English* the town of *Dunkirk* : and for two Millions and two hundred thousand Livres which you gave them, you put your Kingdom in safety.

The Treaty, which your Majesty had held with the Duke of *Lorain*, was so little agreeable to his Nephew, that he quitted a *Ballet*, in which he was dancing with your Majesty, to be gone out of the Kingdom. He went to *Rome* ; where he believed, that the Pope would charge himself with his interests. But the Pope excusing himself from that, he passed to *Vienna*, where the Emperor gave him a retreat. You did not trouble
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yourself at this, otherwise than as you knew, that you had but only him to deal with, to establish your right. In the mean time, it appeared, that his presence was necessary to that Treaty : because it was carried there in express terms, That he should ratifie it to you, and all the Princes of his house. You did not forbear to go to the Parliament to cause it to be registred. But as you were afraid, but that there might be some opposition, upon the account that there was a Clause, by which you were bound to make all those Princes to be recognized for Princes of the blood, and capable of succeeding to the Crown, in case that the House of *Bourbon* came to fail ; you went thither with your *Régiment* of *Guards*, which consisted of three thousand men.

The respect which they had for your Majesty, made them that they did not tell you, that that Treaty had a need of other solemnities to render it valid. Because it was not for the Parliament to examine it, but for the Estates of your Kingdom : to whom it should belong to chuse themselves a *Master*, when there is not one. And it is this Clause that I meant, when I have sometime said, that it put an invincible obstacle to your designs. For besides that difficulty, there was an infinite number of others : Amongst which, the most considerable were to come on the part of other Foreign Princes, established in your Kingdom. To whom that thing did an injury ; and above all to the House of *Longueville* ; who pretend, that the Estates have already ordered, that in recompence for the services which the Count of *Dunois* render'd heretofore to the Crown, it is to them that it should appertain, if it came to be Vacant. The
Dukes

Dukes and Peers, who will not yield to any one of these Princes, were another great obstacle to this matter. Nevertheless your Majesty flattering your self with coming to the end of all by your power, pressed the Duke of *Lorain* to deliver up, in pursuance of this treaty, the Town of *Marsal* into your hands. And inasmuch as he varied in the resolution which he was to take, you threatened to oblige him to it by the force of your arms. He was continually still unresolved, notwithstanding all these Menaces : which obliged you to set forwards upon the Expedition, in which you were followed by such a great number of the Nobility and Gentry, that there never had been seen so many at a time before. But you had found out a secret of making yourself to be paid what was your due, by the favours which you dispensed *à propos* ; and which drew to you an infinite number of Gentlemen, who in the time of your Minority had not been willing to take the pains to come out of their houses. So your Court was more sparkling than it had ever been ; and especially after you had created a great number of *Blue Hatbands*, which are no small ornament about your person.

You created also soon after a great number of *Dukes* and *Peers* : which was very Politickly ordered. Because the most part of the *Grandeess*, who suffered themselves to be taken with that dignity, became strongly fasten'd to you, to avoid such another Requital.

The Prince of *Conde*, who at his return had thought to find you as you were in the time of Cardinal *Mazarine*, was in the greatest surprize to see you so different from what he imagined. He appeared so little before you, that it could
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scarce be believed to look upon him, that that was the famous Rebel, who had caused so much to be spoken of him. But you took a pleasure to mortifie him in these beginnings ; to the end that he should lose the ill habits, which he had been forward to assume, of *Playing the Master*.

If you could cause Him to tremble so, it is not necessary to say, that the rest by his example did not separate themselves from the duty, to which their birth obliged them. Every thing was before you with a respect which made your Royalty *sparkle* ; and which gave another *idea* of you, than in the time that hath been spoken of above. In fine, the desire which they had to please you, inclined them to apply themselves to things, which before they as much despised. All the young men of good Families whatsoever, enter'd either into your Company of *Musqueteers*, which you had set on foot, or into your Regiment of *Guards*. And as you have a *Genius* for War, which your greatest Enemies cannot deny you, you made it one part of your employment to well discipline that Company : Infomuch, that if I may be permitted to serve my self of a Comparison, which may be subject to be blamed, because it is to abase a Man very much, to compare him to a Horse ; I would say, that never did a *Spanish Genet* perform his *Manage* better under a good *Riding Master*, than that Company performed every thing, that your Majesty commanded them to do.

I must say besides upon this occasion a thing, which others have been able to remark as well as I ; and by which one may judge of what a man will be capable of one day, by what he is seen to do in his youth. What did the seven or eight
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intire hours signifie to us, which your Majesty continued in the Court of the *Louvre* about that Company, in the midst of the greatest rigours of the Winter; if not the application which you would have to your duty; and that you would contemn the heat and the cold, when you should be upon the business of getting of glory?

And yet one cannot say, that it was a predominant inclination which carried your Majesty to these sorts of things: Because you answer'd all the duties of Royalty equally. I have said before, that you had ordered the *Memoirs* of the *Cardinal* of *Richlieu* to be given you. Now the esteem which you had conceived for the memory of that great man, assisted with a piety which is without Paint, and without ostentation, inclined you to pursue the designs, which he had begun so happily, of exterminating the Hereticks out of your Kingdom. But as your Majesty knows, that it is not possible without exposing ones self to strange inconveniences to pass from one extreme to another, you prepared the matter by little and little, in such sort, that you have brought it to a state of maturity now, after a labour of more than twenty years.

The Presence of your Majesty fixed the irresolutions of the Duke of *Lorain*. And being agreed upon the conditions, on which he should surrender the Town of *Marsal* to you, your Majesty came back from *Metz* to *Paris* in so short a time, that the Post could not make by a great deal near so much speed as you. But you had ordered, that they should set fresh horses upon the road; and as those were of the best *Runners* in your stables, you were served to your desire. In the mean
time,

time, every one gave himself the liberty to examine, for what reason your Majesty was in such haste: And there being always some body still, who hits the mark, that which you intended to keep secret, was presently scattered throughout all the City. Which ought to be as an instruction to all Princes, never to undertake a thing which they would not have, that it should be known. Because they cannot with all their power destroy the Curiosity of an infinite multitude of people, who will give themselves a *bell* to penetrate into their actions.

Your Majesty being pleased with my Services, I took the liberty to represent to you, that of all that the Cardinal of *Richlieu* had taken in hand for the glory of the Kingdom, there was nothing which was more important than Navigation and Commerce. But neither the one nor the other being to be attempted without rendering yourself strong at Sea, it lay upon your Majesty to go to work there. You committed the care of it to me, as well as you did that of your Buildings, in which there had been great disorders. And I endeavoured to acquit my self of both, the best that it was possible for me. In the mean time, your Majesty having thought it convenient to make an attempt on the side of *Gi. geri*, the success whereof promised a great advantage to the Commerce of the *Levant*, and to the Reputation of your Majesty in that Country, you commanded the Troops to *file* into *Provence*; where there was shipping all in a readiness to receive them. They made their Passage over happily; and debarqued so too, without almost any opposition on the part of the *Barbarians*. But
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the *Chefs*, upon whom you did rely in the *Affair*, having taken their measures ill, it miscarried, although it had been well conceived and still better digested. Because it is not enough that a thing which is resolved upon in Council, is in *form*, and without fault that one can find in it there, unless it is executed accordingly. And therefore a Prince cannot apply himself too carefully to make a good choice of *Chefs*: Because his reputation and the success of his Affairs depend upon that only: and especially then, when the Enterprize is to be acted so far out of his view, that he is not in a condition to be able to remedy the faults which are committed in it.

They would have made me believe, that Monsieur *le Tellier*, who was not over pleased that your Majesty should give me so much access to your person, and upon whom you reposed your Confidence as to the affairs of the War, should have been able to have nominated to you some more experienced Leaders, in whose hands the thing had been in greater safety. But I did not hearken to those reports, otherwise than to do the more justice to him. In so much that I chose rather to attribute what had happen'd to a certain destiny, which ordereth it sometimes so, that that which appears to be the most sure is what is the least successful, than to cast any such disparagement upon his reputation. To encrease the misfortune, the Vessel upon which the Head of the Regiment of *Picardy* was reembarked, Opened a little: which was a thing that gave a great dissatisfaction to your Majesty. My Enemies who were many in number, as it was impossible to be otherwise, after that that I have mentioned above, were willing

ing to impute the fault to me : pretending, that because it was I who had the care of the *Marine*, I ought to have observed that the Vessel was good. But as that Vessel had been examined, before it was put out to Sea, and that that was done by persons who were skilful in that matter, your Majesty who does justice to all the World, did not look the worse upon me for it. The fault came from hence, that it had been a long time since that Vessel had served : Which wears them out more, without the appearance of it, than if they were always at Sea.

This ill news, which had been preceded by some other that was more agreeable, did not make all the impression which it would have done at another time upon the mind of your Majesty. Indeed you had wherewithal to console your self, in the glory which your arms had acquired in *Hungary*. Where, without those, the Emperor who had already received some Check, would have been defeated entirely. For the right wing of his Army, which had been beaten by the *Turks*, gave them to hope for an Absolute Victory : when the valour of your Troops, which were of the left wing, let them see, that they were still a great way off of their account. They cut their way through every thing, that opposed them : and having recovered the fight again by their steadiness, they went on to a perfect conquest by actions which were so full of vigour, that the Emperor instead of expressing his gratitude to them for it, could not keep himself from conceiving a jealousy of them. Which was even so great, that without considering to make an advantage of that Victory, which had cast a Consternation amongst

the Enemy, he concluded a precipitate peace, as if he had had a fear, that your Troops might be capable to take away his Crown from him.

These two Occurrences, mixt so of good fortune and bad, hinder'd that your Majesty could not ascend as yet to that high degree of glory, in which we see you at this day. However, the regulations which you settled of all kinds in your Kingdom, where every thing was sensible still of the abuses which were crept in, in the time of Cardinal *Mazarine*, served continually as an evidence to those, whom it concerned well to take notice of it, that you were already a Great King. You reformed the *Order of St. Michael*; Which before that of the *Holy Ghost* was the Recompence, wherewith the King's your Predecessors did honour the persons as were of the greatest power in your state: but which was so very much disgraced since the Institution of the other, that all sorts of people were received into it indifferently. In short, it was come to be just so with it upon that account, as it was with the *Order of the Star*: which was fallen into such great contempt, although it had been heretofore most Glorious, that one of your Predecessors for to disgrace it still more had given it to the *Horse-Watch* at *Paris*. But your Majesty judg'd with prudence, that you ought to stop the course of that disorder: and above all because the *Order of St. Michael* is joyned to that of the *Holy Ghost*; and that the *Knights* of the latter could not have been received there, untill they had taken the other first.

And yet I must say, that I may conceal nothing from your Majesty, that you did not purge away so thoroughly the shameful Members which had gotten

gotten in there, as not to leave any one more remaining. Because this is a misfortune which is inevitable to all Princes, that when they rely for a thing upon others, than upon themselves, it would be a miracle if favour or faction did not carry it often above justice. It is therefore absolutely necessary, as they expect to have things to be performed according as they are digested, that they themselves be the overseers of those whom they appoint to cause their Commands to be executed. For if they refer themselves therein entirely to the other's integrity, it is the way to have them done but by halves.

You established also a Company for the Commerce of the *Indies*, which you judged was profitable to the Good of your state. Indeed a Kingdom cannot flourish, so long as it is obliged to traffick through the hands of others: And it was convenient to endeavour to get clear of the *English* and the *Dutch*, whom the Kings, your Predecessors, had let alone to drive that Commerce to their Prejudice. This Establishment was very displeasing to those two Nations: who would have even taken this Commerce away, the one from the other, they were so jealous of it. It had been already for some time, that it had caused a coldness betwixt them: as there is nothing more capable of setting people together by the Ears, than Interest. Therefore after some lightnings, that had appeared, and which were as the fore-runners of the Thunder that was to roar soon after, they broke with one another and came to an open War.

Your Majesty offered your Mediation to hinder that things should not go on further. But

the *English*, who claimed to be the Sovereigns of the Sea, being willing to impose Conditions upon the others, kept themselves so fast to their pretensions, that your Majesty thought yourself obliged to take the part of your Ancient Friends against the Ancient Enemies of your Crown. You *Armed* at Sea, in favour of the *Hollanders*, in the mean time that you equipped also another fleet, which you designed against the *Algerines*. The Duke of *Beaufort* who commanded it, and to whom you had sent your orders, fought the *Algerines* so successfully two several times within three Months of one another, that he took a great many of their Vessels; amongst which was the Admiral. This Advantage wrought a good effect for your Majesty in that Country: where those Barbarians endeavoured to darken the glory of your name by the misfortune, which was befallen to you at *Gigeri*. But that which render'd you yet more redoubtable, was this; that you set out new Shipping upon the *Ocean*, and upon the *Mediterranean*. Which gave all *Europe* an occasion to think, that before it was long you would find yourself not only in a condition to dispute the Empire of the Sea with the *English*, but also with any other Nation, which should present themselves. And indeed besides this succour, which augmented your fleet considerably, you had Work-houses full of materials and Workmen; you wanted not elsewhere your Seamen and your Pilots; from whence it was judged, that your intention was to dispute that Empire, which does not belong but to the strongest Power.

I do not pretend to attribute to my self any glory in this, although I may have laboured at
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it with the best of my strength. I ought, to say the truth, to confess that this design was not originally from me : and that I did no more than run the Career, in which the Cardinal of *Richelieu* was entred before me. It was He, I know, who had put it into the head of the late King, your Father, to encrease his Power upon that Element : or to speak better, to make it to be known. Because before him, All the Kings your Predecessors and even *Henry* the 4th had not a single Vessel there. But yet that project was executed but faintly under the Ministry of that great Man : so that one can however say, that the glory of it was reserved to your Majesty.

You did two things at that time, which were extreamly profitable to you, and which the late King, your Father, had undertook in vain. You reduced the People of *Quality*, and the People of the *Robe* to a perfect obedience: and you did the one under a pretence of justice, and the other with a very high hand. The most part of the Gentry had arrogated to themselves by the liberty of the times, very much of Authority in the Provinces : where they were set up as so many Petty *Tyrants*, in that manner, that they made every thing to tremble under them. The Judges of the Places, who are obliged by the duty of their offices to oppose themselves to such Novelties, had not dared to do it in a time, in which they were afraid to come to the worst : Besides that they were most of them restrained by the considerations, which are usual enough to people, who prefer their particular interests before the Publick Good. They had a fear, how they fell out with those *Kings* of the Country; so that they bestir'd themselves

themselves no more in it, then if every thing which passed ought to be indifferent to them. Now your Majesty, who was obliged to repress these disorders, because there was no person but you in the first place, who should dare so to *Assault the Master*; and that besides that, you were obliged to protect your Subjects, and to put them under shelter from such violences; Your Majesty, I say, not being able to endure longer a thing so prejudicial to your Authority, and so contrary to the repose of your People, you established the *Grands jours*; That is to say, a certain number of the Men of the Law, who belonged to the Provinces, who should give an information there against such, as were found to be guilty of this Oppression. There were many of them hereupon, who were Arrested; others fled: and All having been punished, either by the demolishing of their Castles, or by the loss of their heads, you drew upon you the love of your People, who by an Action so full of justice, found themselves set free from slavery.

To see, how a wise and a judicious King knows how to do his own business, at the same time that he does that of his subjects! You kept yourself very well from discovering, that you acted upon that occasion, as much for your Interests, as for theirs. It was necessary on the contrary, that they should believe, that your only aim was to deliver them from oppression. Without which, besides that you would not have had such an esteem amongst them, it is also certain, that it was the way for you to meet with no obstacle on their side: Because if the Gentry should have been able to persuade them, that you had other designs in it, there was some reason to fear, that they might

might have succoured one another : which would have been a thing that was capable of giving some trouble to your Majesty. So every time that a Sovereign would abase the power of the Nobility and Gentry, he ought to animate the People against them. Which is not a very difficult thing to do : Because it being their *Genius* ordinarily to Rule, there needs nothing else than that to induce the People to suspect them. Now this facility, which there is to destroy them, ought to be an occasion to them of renouncing all sorts of Cabals. Especially, when the people is found to be concerned there. For they ought to be assured, that how fair soever the people may carry it to them, they have not a greater Enemy than they. Who really, although they have a respect for them in Appearance, are in a perpetual jealousy of their dominion ; from which they only seek but how to infranchise themselves. This truth, which is incontestable, puts a most visible opposition therefore betwixt their two Interests. From whence it follows, that the Nobility and Gentry have not any advantages to hope for, but from a perfect union with their Prince. Whose interest it being in like manner to treat them well, there ought always to be such a Harmony betwixt them, as that nothing should be capable of disturbing it. And inasmuch as this Harmony cannot be founded but upon a perfect Obedience on the part of the Subjects, and a just retribution on the part of the Master, it belongs to the first to do their duty, to the end that the other may do his.

The other thing which your Majesty did, that was profitable to you and to your people, was, the suppressing of the disorder which had been in-

troduced in the sale of the Offices of Judicature. The excess whereof was risen to the height, that I have alledged above: and this was the cause, not only that those, who were possessed of them, thought too well of themselves; but also that many finding themselves in *Streights*, upon the account of the Interest which they were to pay for the money which they had borrowed at the time that they made the purchase, made even a sale of Justice. This Affair was however a nice one: by reason that whatsoever regulation you should think to take in it, themselves, to speak properly, were both the Judges and the Parties: inasmuch as it belonged to them to Register the Edict. And if one was to give a judgment, upon what there would pass in that Rencounter, by what there had passed formerly, there was no probability at all of the thing's success. Because it was to do those persons a considerable prejudice, with regard to their funds, who had revolted some years before for a simple retrenchment of their Salaries. But your Majesty being gone to the Parliament, accompanied with four thousand men, you had no sooner presented this Edict to them, but it was not only Registered, but they thanked you too for the care which you had taken, to correct the abuses which had screwed themselves in so into your state.

I do not pretend to insinuate to your Majesty, that those Thanks were given to you from the heart. I believe for my own part, that they were a little forced: and that the four thousand men, which you had brought with you, contributed to it more than the esteem which they ought to have had, notwithstanding that, of your good Government.

ment. But however that is, it may serve as an advertisement to all Princes, that there are some proper times for causing of their Wills to be executed in, and some others which are extremely dangerous. It concerns them therefore to measure their undertakings, according to their strength. For it is not enough, that they are born Sovereigns, to empower them to command Absolutely. They are liable, the first of all, to the vicissitudes of times; and fortune hath not a whit the less power over them, than it hath over the least of their people. They ought indeed to be extremely prudent: Because the error of a private person cannot do a prejudice, at the most, but to himself and to his family: Whereas that of a Prince engages his State, and hath many times consequences, which are so considerable, that they cannot be remedied again.

The *Jansenists* endeavoured again at this time to excite some troubles in the Church; which obliged the Pope to condemn their Doctrine anew. Your Majesty followed his example; and shew yourself so much the more circumspect in this affair, as you found, that the Consequences of it were of moment. Indeed some persons of the most Honourable of your Court had suffered themselves to be seduced, together with some *Communities* of the *Religions*: Whose infatuation was so great, that it was convenient to employ all your Royal Authority to reduce them to *Rights* again. They suffered even a thousand violences to be done to them, before they would bring themselves to that. So true it is, that one is but little tractable in the business of Religion; and that there is nothing more dangerous, than the factions
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which are made under the pretext of Devotion.

Your Clergy met together at *Pontoise* under your Authority; as well to remedy that abuse, as to take such resolutions as were necessary upon other important affairs, which did present themselves. They were extreamly edified at the Piety, with which you enter'd into their Interests; and *this* served again to draw upon you the esteem of your people. Because there is nothing which instills *that* more, than when they see, that a Prince renders unto *God* that which is due to *God*.

A thousand things contributed besides, to make your name celebrated, both at home and abroad. One single ship of yours fought with so much bravery against three and thirty *Turkish* Gallies, that they drew off from her without having been able to oblige her to surrender herself. On the other side, the succour which you sent to the *Dutch* against the Bishop of *Munster*, who had attacked them, preserved them from receiving any affront. For although that their state is a great deal more powerful than his, yet because, since the Peace which they had made with the *Spaniards*, they had had more care of their Commerce than of keeping up the reputation which they had acquired by arms, they found themselves in so deplorable a condition, that they were quite a different people from what they had been formerly. So that one is mightily deceived, if one thinks, that Strength consists solely in Riches. Which are necessary, it is true, in order to render a state Powerful: but Soldiers are still of the two the most useful; because one cannot subsist without them. One must therefore have always Soldiers

diers *enough*, to defend ones frontiers ; and even to make ones self to be feared by ones Neighbours. For if they see you so weak, that they believe that they can attack you with impunity, it is in vain for you to rely upon their Honesty, and upon the faith of Treaties. You must, to keep up the one and the other, be in a condition to enforce a respect. I am perswaded withal, that the more that a state is rich and flourishing, the more it is obliged to watch to its security. Because it is impossible, but it should have an infinite number of persons, who envy it : and that amongst those, there should not be some, who shall endeavour to rob it of its riches.

It was at this time, that your Majesty began to take the Marquis of *Louvois* to serve under you ; to whom you had granted the reversion of the office of his Father. But he was so stiff, and so little fitted to take pains, that Monsieur *le Tellier* beseeched you, not to give yourself more trouble about so ungrateful a subject. For he did not believe, that he could ever do well : and as he was one besides, who loved his pleasures, he looked upon him as a man who was much fitter for consuming of what there was laid up, than to add any thing to it by his own labour. But your Majesty who had a thousand kindnesses for his family, bad him be Patient: and that which was not to be done in one day, might be done sometimes in two : That you did not despair, like him, of making nothing of his Son ; that it was fit to have an Indulgence for his Youth ; and rather to reclaim it by sweetness, than by threats.

Your Majesty took the Patience therefore yourself to train him up. And as it cannot be deny'd,
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but that notwithstanding what I have remarked above, and that which I shall remark also in the sequel, he hath had a thousand good qualities; this ought to teach us, that we must give time to Men, as we do to fruits, to *Ripen*. Because he who pretends to overstrain things, makes them Abortive, rather than reaps his satisfaction from them. In short, there are certain Backward Spirits, to whom it would be to turn their brains in their heads to undertake before the time, to bring them to comprehend any thing. It must come upon them by little and little, and without doing the least violence to them. Neither is it to be thought, that a Man can be fitted for business immediately. Especially in a Youth, which frowns upon *Labour*, and hath nothing that it delights in but its pleasure. The taste does not come to it, but when the judgment is formed. And then it increases upon them insensibly; and after that, they are delighted in nothing else. For it is *Business which makes men*; which is the Reason that it is commonly said, *qu' en forgeant l'on devient forgeron*; that by hammering one becomes a Smith.

Although the Marquis of *Louvois* might so little love to take pains at the first, yet he did not keep himself from running into the same fault with those, who were grown proud of their services. He became jealous of all such as your Majesty did the honour to express some good will to: and of me especially, who had *that* of entertaining your Majesty frequently upon the occasion of my Employ in the *Revenue*, and of my office of *Surintendant* of the Buildings: Because your Majesty, who is Great in every thing, was a building at *Versailles*, and the *Louvre*; whereof it was convenient

venient that I should give you an Account every Week, and very often every Day, by reason that you changed from time to time some thing in your designs, and that it was my part to see those executed.

Now as his Employ had not the same Acceptances in a time of Peace, and that it was only a War which could procure them to him, he did whatever he was able by the Counsel of his Father to carry your Majesty upon a War. He served himself for that purpose of the death of the King of *Spain*, which happen'd just upon these transactions: Giving you to understand, that some Provinces of the *Low-Countrys* were devolved to the Queen your Consort, by virtue of a custom of those Parts; which made her the Heiress to *Dom Balihasar*, her Brother, to the prejudice of his *Catholick* Majesty, who had succeeded to his Father.

It was in this manner, that he gilded the Pill to your Majesty: which he knew very well, would not go down with you, unless the poison of it was concealed under the shadow of Justice. So he had a care how he spoke to you, as of a *Dependance*, of the succession to the King your Father in Law: to which you had *Renounced* so solemnly by the treaty of the *Pyranees*. It was convenient to disguise it under the name of Prince *Balthasar*; and to give you to apprehend, that that had nothing common with your *Renunciation*. In the mean time the Artifice was very coarse. Because Prince *Balthasar* had nothing to do with the Succession to his Father, who was not then dead: neither the Queen, your Consort, with the Succession to Prince *Balthasar*: Which could not be but merely an imaginary business, when that

Prince

Prince was dead before his father. So that the law which was in favour of the daughters to the prejudice of the Children of the second Bed, and which he made a *Parade* of to your Majesty, could not stand him in any stead. Besides that if *Balthasar* should have survived his father, you had *Renounced* so formally to every thing, which could fall to you by the head of the Queen your Comfort, that you could not pretend to it in any manner, without shewing yourself perjured to all the Earth. But this supposition of a succession to *Dom Balthasar*, joyned with your Martial Humour, and a desire to immortalize your name, induced you to have a recourse to a method, which is so far from being blameable, that it is altogether necessary before you design to make a War. You ordered the *Advocates* to be consulted upon the Right which you might have to that succession. But as it was convenient to make use of the Ministry of some person to them, you employed in it the Marquis of *Louvois* : who had too much an interest to maintain what he had said to your Majesty, to bring you a debate which was thereunto contrary. The Lawyers, that is, those who were gained over, maintained by long discourfes, but with very little solidity in them, that the Renunciation which your Majesty had made, was absolutely Null. Because it was contrary to the constitutions of your Kingdom ; which will have it, That the King can always relieve himself of what he does, as if he were in perfect minority. They insisted above all upon the pretended prejudice, which they supposed that you had done to the *Dauphin* your Son, by that Renunciation : And after having enlarged themselves upon this, that neither
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the laws of God or Man permit a Father to dispose so at his fancy of the succession of his Son, they concluded that that only circumstance did annul every thing which you had done ; and that by consequence you should have Reason to prosecute your Right and His by the force of your arms.

But there were a great many things to return to all this : and it would be dangerous to put the Crown upon such a foot, as that there should be no security to contract with it. For if it was enough to say, that you are always a *Minor*, what Faith should one have in your promises ? And if a War was at any time but once kindled, what door should one find to come out of it again ? I could push on this discourse so far, that I should put those into a confusion with it, who pretend to establish so false a Maxim. But as your Majesty is too discerning to have a need of any assistance in an affair which is so clear and so incontestable, I suppress all those arguments to represent to you, that such as make these sort of faults, expose in the mean time their Master in such a manner, that they are the occasion, that one accuses them of an unmeasurable Ambition. Which Unhappy reputation makes them have Enemies of their antient Friends, and raises up insensibly all the Earth against them. For there is no body who can believe himself secure from their injustice ; and unless one may depend upon the word of a Prince, it is as good to be in War, as in Peace. Nay, it seems as if one should be more satisfied in the one, than the other. Because the one obliges us to be in a perpetual defiance : whilst in the other we live in a kind of a perplexity, in which one hath an occasion to be afraid at every thing.

Whilst

Whilest all this was a passing, you lost the Queen your Mother. To whom it would have been a great grief to live to see a Peace broken, which she had longed for so ardently. You obliged also the Bishop of *Munster* to come to an agreement with the *Hollanders*. But you met with more difficulty, to make what was your due to be paid to you, by the Duke of *Lorain*; although he ought to have been more flexible than others, by all the Mortifications which you had given him. That Prince, whose Soul was formed in such a manner, that it was incomprehensible to all the World, after the business of *Marsal* was come to *Paris*; Where he appeared so insensible of the ill State of his Affairs, that he would have married a Daughter of a little *Bourgeois*, who was a Domestick of *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. And things had even proceeded so far, that the Contract of the Marriage was passed betwixt them; and it was necessary, that his Relations should make use of your Royal Authority to stop it from going on farther. They had their recoursethither a second time, in an affair of the same nature: But this was the less disgraceful to him, because the person which he Courted, was, however, the Daughter of a Gentleman. But your Majesty who was willing, in spite of him, to hinder him from dishonouring himself, sent a command to her Father not to think of that Match. At last that Prince, seeing that you opposed yourself so, against his marrying so shamefully in your States, he went to seek a Mistress in his own: Where he espoused a Daughter of the Count *d' Apremont*, who was not yet thirteen years old, although he was at that time more than sixty.

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Thus having contented himself as to his *Amour*, he endeavour'd to do the same thing as to his *Ambition*; which did not suffer him to continue a moment in repose. He began to make Levies, under a pretence, that the *Electör Palatine* had acted some hostilities upon his Frontier. But your Majesty having appeased that disorder by your Authority, there remained no more colour for him to keep himself in Arms, if his dishonesty had not still furnished him with such, as much as your Majesty offered him reasons to oblige him to seek your friendship preferably to all things. Your Envoy, who resided with him, entertained him many times upon this subject; and gave him to know, that by abusing your patience so often, it was to be feared that you would take a Chastisement of him, which was proportionable to his fault. But it seem'd either that he was become insensible; or that he did not remember himself any more of what was said to him. For he could not perswade himself to perform that, which your Majesty required of him: And yet he saw no body in *Europe*, who should take his part, nor should save him from the precipice, if your Majesty undertook once to throw him headlong down.

In the time that this Affair was upon the Board, the Marquis of *Louvois* redoubled his endeavours to induce you to set upon the War of *Flanders*. In which he assured you of infallible success, by that which was arisen betwixt the *English* and the *Dutch*; wherein your Majesty had taken part more for Policy, than out of any formed design to succour your ancient Allies. For since you were resolved to make the Conquest of the *Low-Countries*, there was no likelihood that that Alliance should

Whilest all this was a passing, you lost the Queen your Mother. To whom it would have been a great grief to live to see a Peace broken, which she had longed for so ardently. You obliged also the Bishop of *Munster* to come to an agreement with the *Hollanders*. But you met with more difficulty, to make what was your due to be paid to you, by the Duke of *Lorain*; although he ought to have been more flexible than others, by all the Mortifications which you had given him. That Prince, whose Soul was formed in such a manner, that it was incomprehensible to all the World, after the business of *Marsal* was come to *Paris*; Where he appeared so insensible of the ill State of his Affairs, that he would have married a Daughter of a little *Bourgeois*, who was a Domestick of *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. And things had even proceeded so far, that the Contract of the Marriage was passed betwixt them; and it was necessary, that his Relations should make use of your Royal Authority to stop it from going on farther. They had their recourse thither a second time, in an affair of the same nature: But this was the less disgraceful to him, because the person which he Courted, was, however, the Daughter of a Gentleman. But your Majesty who was willing, in spite of him, to hinder him from dishonouring himself, sent a command to her Father not to think of that Match. At last that Prince, seeing that you opposed yourself so, against his marrying so shamefully in your States, he went to seek a Mistress in his own: Where he espoused a Daughter of the Count *d' Apremont*, who was not yet thirteen years old, although he was at that time more than sixty.

Thus

Thus having contented himself as to his *Amour*, he endeavour'd to do the same thing as to his *Ambition*; which did not suffer him to continue a moment in repose. He began to make Levies, under a pretence, that the *Electeur Palatine* had acted some hostilities upon his Frontier. But your Majesty having appeased that disorder by your Authority, there remained no more colour for him to keep himself in Arms, if his dishonesty had not still furnished him with such, as much as your Majesty offered him reasons to oblige him to seek your friendship preferably to all things. Your Envoy, who resided with him, entertained him many times upon this subject; and gave him to know, that by abusing your patience so often, it was to be feared that you would take a Chastisement of him, which was proportionable to his fault. But it seemed either that he was become insensible; or that he did not remember himself any more of what was said to him. For he could not perswade himself to perform that, which your Majesty required of him: And yet he saw no body in *Europe*, who should take his part, nor should save him from the precipice, if your Majesty undertook once to throw him headlong down.

In the time that this Affair was upon the Board, the Marquis of *Louvois* redoubled his endeavours to induce you to set upon the War of *Flanders*. In which he assured you of infallible success, by that which was arisen betwixt the *English* and the *Dutch*; wherein your Majesty had taken part more for Policy, than out of any formed design to succour your ancient Allies. For since you were resolved to make the Conquest of the *Low-Countries*, there was no likelihood that that Alliance should

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subsist

subsist much longer ; the *Dutch* having a notable interest to hinder, that a King so powerful should not become their Neighbour. So what you had done in it, was but only to provide in a manner, that their Quarrel did not end without your being called to the Accommodation : Because you would be acquainted with that, which should pass there, to the intent that you should not take false Measures.

In a word, your Conduct was conformable to your Interests. And the succour which you gave them, was neither proportioned to your strength, nor to the assurances which you had made to them, that you would employ all your endeavours to assist them to receive a Victory over their Enemies. You did not however forbear to declare yourself for them. Only the Grand preparations, which you made, beginning to be suspected by them, they thought more of concluding a Peace, than of benefiting themselves by the advantages, which they had already obtained, and from which they might have reaped a great benefit; since the *English* had suffered again another misfortune, which was not inferior to *that there*. A fire consumed three quarters of the City of *London* ; and in the consternation into which that cast the Inhabitants, it was wholly in their own hands to do their business. You did yours however. You drove the *English* out of the Island of *St. Christophers*, after having taken from them the Fort, which they had raised upon it : And having concluded with yourself, not to defer any longer the War of *Flanders*, you resolved to go in Person thither at the head of a good Army.

The *Spaniards* were affrighted at this, and not without

without reason : For your Majesty had taken care, since the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, to have your Troops almost as well trained, as if they should have been continually upon Action. You had ordered frequent reviews to be taken of them ; and you had also purged away from them all the Ignominious Members by turning out of your *Houſhold* a number of men, who were got into it but only to exempt themselves from the *Taille*, and who were not in the least proper for the service. This *Reform* was even extended as far as to the Officers : Amongst whom, there was a great many of them inserviceable, and more fit for a Court, than to appear in the sight of an enemy.

The Viscount of *Turenne* commanded this Army under your Majesty : and the confidence which you had in him, ingaged you to make choice of him before others to improve you in the Art of War, in which you had already looked upon him as the most experienced of your Kingdom : Infomuch, that as well for to recompence his Services, as to show to all the World that you entertained that esteem as you ought of his Virtue, you had declared him the *Mareschal de Camp General* of your Armies, a little before the Peace betwixt the two Crowns. A Quality, which set him above the *Mareschals* of *France* ; and in which was revived in some sort the Office of *Constable*, that had been suppressed after the Death of the Duke de *Ledignieres*, who had been possessed thereof the last.

The confidence which your Majesty took in this great Man, was displeasing to the Marquis of *Louvois*. Whose ill governed Ambition would have had you already, that you should consult none but himself, upon all things. But he had an occa-

sion to swallow down a great many such Pills.

Your Majesty continued some half days entire locked up with him, whilst that *Marquis* waited in your Anti-Chamber, before you would introduce him where you were. This gave birth to the hatred, which that *Marquis* hath always had to him; and which hath been very often prejudicial to your Majesty; as I shall let you see in the sequel of this discourse. Whereupon you will permit me to make a reflexion, that you shall find, perhaps, to be just. Which is, that there is nothing so dangerous, as to give too much sway to persons, who are wholly puffed up with glory. The reason is, because they envy to others the advantages, which indeed ought to redound to them from their good Counsels: Insomuch that they poison every thing, which does not proceed from their own *Bottoms*; even as far as to hinder rather, that Affairs should succeed, than to suffer that the glory of them should be attributed to another. So that a Prince cannot be too reserved upon the choice of a Minister. And when he shall find in him all the qualities requisite for so great an employ, yet if he hath not that also of preferring the publick Interest to his own, it will be in vain to pretend, that he shall do any good with him. To execute that place worthily, one must be as it were insensible of Love and of Hatred: and not to be moved in any kind, but by the Interests of the State. For if one borrows from other Springs, this cannot but tend to the prejudice of the Master; whose service does not require, that one should be of Passion so susceptible.

The *Spaniards* upon the approach of your Majesty

elsty blew up the Fortifications, that they had raised at a new place, which they were a building, and to which they had given the Name of *Charleroy*. Whereby in less than eight days they destroyed what they had been an entire year upon, at so prodigious an expence, that it is reckoned, that they had employed in it above three Millions. Your Majesty, who desired to continue their Works in order to preserve yourself a passage over the *Sambre*, where that place is situated, commanded your Army to labour at it so, that in three Weeks time you put it into a state of defence. After this, you turned to the other side; and carried with an astonishing rapidity the Towns of *Aeth*, *Tournay*, *Douay*, and the Forts which were about the latter place. *Audenarde* and *Alost* submitted to your Arms: whilst the Marechal *d' Aumont* possessed himself of *Armentieres*, *Bergues*, *Furnes*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Courtray*. The *English* and the *Hollanders* seeing this, pressed hard to make a Peace. But your Majesty going still your own way, laid Siege to *Lisle*: where there were four thousand men of Regular Troops, and ten times as many *Bourgeois* who were capable of carrying Arms. This made it to be believed by the *Spaniards*, that your Majesty would never compass so great an undertaking: and having called to their relief the Count *de Marcin* who commanded their Army, he drew towards the City to fall upon you, when he supposed that you were sufficiently weakned to give him to hope to defeat you with ease: But your Majesty, after having taken the City in a small time, gave *Marcin* also such an entire Rout, that he was obliged to escape himself on foot through a Marsh.

This Victory promised you still new advantages;

especially the Season not being too far advanced. But you were so in haste to come back again from these parts, that you contented yourself with what you had done; as there are times in which one prefers one's satisfaction to his duty, though it however reflects a great blemish upon his reputation. Indeed the least weakness in the life of a great man is a stain which obscures the lustre of his Noble Actions. But who is there in the World so exempt? especially when those weaknesses proceed from a Passion, which *Heroes* have also more an inclination to, than others.

The success, which your Majesty had, augmented still the credit of your Minister: who became so *glorieux* with his favour, that he did every thing that he could to destroy me. But your Majesty was just to me, notwithstanding all his Informations: and truly, you were obliged to protect me, because I had exposed my self for you to the publick hatred. I had advised you some years before, to suppress a part of the Rents of the *Hôtel de Ville*: the creation whereof had been made upon so low a foot, that joining together with the Profit, which one had made of the Arrears, the reimbursement of the Principal, your Majesty was not only quitted, but there was besides due to you a great deal of the remainder. In the mean time, as if this had been to reduce to despair a People, who had not been Managers good enough to erect another Fund to serve them in the place of that, which you cou'd suppress without Injustice; you thought fit, that I should only give them a fear of it; to the end to retrench those Rents the more easily, and to reduce them for the future upon such a foot, as that they should not be any further

further such a charge to you. But as it is an ordinary thing enough to be blind in one's own Interests, no body minded this reason, and I saw my self at the point of being torn in pieces by the People. One day particularly, as I was going to the Chancellors, I was surrounded in his Court by the *Rentiers*. Amongst whom there were some, who were so insolent, as to threaten me. I pretended to hearken to what they had to say, to have an occasion to get them to discover their Names: and your Majesty having ordered them to be Arrested, I presumed that that would contain the others within their duty. But yet there did continually some body or other present himself, who endeavoured to frighten me: which my *Deputies* being more intimidated with than my self, they used all their endeavours to oblige me to abandon that Affair.

The Zeal which I had for the Service of your Majesty, did not permit me to give ear to their fears. Which were so strange, that one of them, who was a man of great Industry, but who withal had the imperfection to love Drink, excepting which there would have been few like him, started out of his sleep in the Night in a fright, believing that the *Rentiers* had got him by the Throat. The fumes of that Liquor, which overclouded him, did not give him leave to see that his fright proceeded but from a Dream; and so he put all my House into an uproar, and awakened my Wife and my Children. I awakened my self at the noise, which he made: and if I would have believed my Domesticks, or my Wife, I must have minded but only which way I was to take, to save my self. But having thought convenient to inform my

self first, of what it was, I discovered presently, that it was no more than a *Vision* of that *Sot*; and so my House was set in quiet again. I discharged him the next morning: because I could not persuade my self to keep him after that Insult; especially since I had warned him many times, that if he did not correct himself, I would keep him no longer. But there are things, to which one is so inclined, that one cannot get rid of them, when one will: Particularly when one hath given time to them to pass into a habit. Now drinking is of this number: and the more a man grows old, the more he becomes subject to it. The reason is, because the natural heat beginning to decay in him, he fancies, that the Wine recruits his strength: instead whereof, the excess which he takes of it, deprives him of that which he hath yet remaining. It is not so as to the Passion for Women: which for a reason that is very natural, cannot be so strong in an elderly Age, as then, when one is but at five and twenty. So that of all the Passions which torment a man, I conceive there is none more dangerous than that first: Except that it does not so much suit to certain persons, who would find themselves absolutely dishonored by it. From whence we must conclude, that one ought to resist it with all one's power, in its birth: and above all, when one considers, that it renders a man incapable of every thing; insomuch that one cannot put the least confidence in him.

Your Majesty suspecting very well, that all your Neighbors would have a jealousy of your Conquests, made a League Offensive and Defensive with *Portugal*: who by the succours which you had given them, were preserv'd from falling again under the dominion

nion of *Spain*. The *Spaniards* complained of this many times during the Peace ; and that your Majesty countervend thereby one of the Articles of the Treaty of the *Pyrenees* : in which it was carried, that you shou'd abandon them intirely. But it is impertinent very often to Covenant upon certain things, which one knows well enough, one shall not execute. And in the number of those, one must always reckon such, as are entirely opposite to the Interests of a Crown. So that whatsoever Alliance two Neighbouring States may make, their promises *Subsist* no longer, than their common Interest is found in them. Which is the reason, that there is but little bottom for one to take there, and to account otherwise, it is the way to be deceived.

The Duke of *Lorain*, who had constantly some ill designs against your Majesty, saw himself out of a condition to execute them, by the precaution which you had used. You had obliged him to give you, for all his aversion to it, the Troops which he had yet on foot, to assist you in your Conquests. Yet this kept him not from Intriguing with the *Spaniards*, and with the *Hollanders* who were jealous of your prosperity, and who had held a Treaty with the Kings of *England* and *Sweden* to bring you to a Peace. He was resolved to enter into that Treaty. For which reason, to be more in a posture of making himself to be feared, he redemanded of you his Troops to come and take Winter Quarters with him ; to the end, that under a pretence of defending his Estates, which were environed on all sides by the *Spaniards*, he might be able to do what he pleased. But as you was as Ingenious as he, you would not suffer them to come out of *Flanders* ; which obliged him to debauch them.

Your

Your Majesty took no notice of any thing : because you had more pressing Affairs upon your hands. And contenting yourself to order him to be observed, and to hinder that those Troops should not desert, you took your way, during the greatest rigour of the Winter, into the County of *Burgundy* ; which you was very sure of Conquering ; by reason that the Prince of *Cande* had treated about it with the Marquis d'*Hienné*, who was the Governour there. And so far was this from being a thing to be blamed, that it is a part of the Wisdom and of the Prudence of a Sovereign, to spare the Blood of his Subjects, as much as he can possibly. For which reason, when it only costs him some Money to get himself the Keys of Towns, it is to be said, that he is better advised than those, who employ upon it the Lives of an infinite number of men : Which even very often serves, but only to lead them to receive a greater affront. For whatsoever Forces one hath, the success does not answer always to our expectations. From whence we must conclude, and it is with still a greater evidence, that when one can light upon a sure way to come to the accomplishment of his Enterprize, one must never let that pass. Only I except however Poison and Murder : Two things, which are so mean, and so distant from the Sentiments that a Prince ought to have, that he is never to recur to them, unless he is resolved to dishonour himself.

The War, which you had to sustain, did not hinder you from continuing your Applications to see, that Justice was perform'd amongst your Subjects. You obliged your *Parliaments* to follow the *Code*, both *Civil* and *Criminal* : upon which you had set persons on Work before your departure

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ture for *Flanders*, in order to reduce the *Proceses* into a more narrow Compass. Some *Judges*, who did not find their Accounts in this, and who believed that it would be the same with it as it is with certain *Comminatory* punishments, which one remits oftentimes without further notice, gave themselves the liberty to cause it to be executed just as they pleased. But your Majesty being informed of them, you suspended them from their Offices; and cast such a terror into others by that example, that they shew themselves wise at the others expence.

C H A P. IV.

An Account of what passed from the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle to the War of Holland.

YET not to draw upon your Hands all the *Potentes*, who bore an Envy to your Prosperity, you judged it convenient to make a Peace. And the *Spaniards* having consented by the treaty which was held at *Aix la Chapelle*, that you should keep your Conquests, upon condition that you did surrender to them the County of *Burgogne*, you became more Puissant in *Flanders*, than you had ever been before.

You set Persons at work there, all in one and the same time, upon the fortifications of so many places, that it was a matter of an Astonishment to all your Neighbours: who could not almost conceive, how a Kingdom of so little an extent should be able to answer to so many things at once.

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For besides those works, which were infinitely chargeable, you did not discontinue the building at the *Louvre*, and at *Versailles* : And elsewhere you bought up such a vast quantity of rich moveables, *Anticks*, Precious stones, and of every thing in general which denotes the most the sumptuousness of a Prince; that one may say, that all your Predecessors had been but *Petis* Persons in comparison to you. You had a Coat made you, which alone was of an inestimable value; and which served you but only to receive the Ambassadors in. The Diamonds upon it, and to your Hat, were worth above sixteen Millions : and before one arrived to your Throne, which was extremely elevated, one passed through a *Gallery* so filled with Goods, and Vessels of massy Silver, of all sorts of fashions, as well as with Cisterns, that one might think that you had amassed together, every thing which is to be found in the *Indies* to show your Magnificence. And yet the *matter* of them was what deserved the least to be consider'd: for all these pieces were of a Hand so curious, that the *fashion* of them cost more than the *matter*.

It will be admired perhaps, that your Majesty followed in this a Maxim, which was so different from that of the King, your Father : who cared so little for these sort of things, that the Strangers who visited his *Royal* Houses, could not sufficiently wonder, that so great a Prince was so ill in Goods. But you did not do it so much out of an humour of high spending, as for the consequences which result from it. For it is fit to know, that all such things, as are great and magnificent, beget Admiration : which Princes have as much an occasion of, as of their Power. Because there

is nothing which makes them to be more respected than that : and one rarely sees, that men are wanting to those, who understand so well how to cause themselves to be Esteemed.

You gave Order in like manner that your Tables should be served, as it became so great a King. And although that you furnished them with what was proper and delicate, and with plenty, yet it cost you less so, than it did before; because you hinder'd, that those who had the charge of them, should not rob you as they had been used. In fine, you cast your Eyes upon the Abuses, which there were, as far as to your *Liveries*: which you ordered to be changed every year, on purpose to cross the course of the greediness of such as made them to serve beyond the time limited, for to put the money into their Pockets.

Therefore all your people began to have such a respect for your reign, that it was no longer a Question, whether your Majesty should give your self the trouble to go in person to the *Palace* to cause the *Edicts* to be Registred there: You contented yourself with sending them thither by the first comer. Which is a thing, that will be an occasion of an Astonishment to Posterity, after that that I have said above. And yet all this was wrought by nothing but your reputation, and without your being obliged to use the least action of Rigour to make you to be obeyed.

Indeed when one hath established things once upon a good foot, they go of themselves afterwards, without ones being in a manner concerned to take any Pains with them. And this ought to teach us All, every one for his own sake, whoever we are, to settle a good order also in our affairs,
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without which they can never do well. It is necessary too, that this be done with the beginning that we are charged with them. For if we tarry, till they go ill, it will be the same then, as it is with those neglected buildings, which fall into ruine for want of having had one stone put to them in time. Which it is impossible to remedy afterwards, unless one rebuilds them all anew: wherein we see the prejudice which the Master receives, and how much it concerns him to be a good husband.

Your Majesty having thus made a Peace, you created three Marshalls of France, who were the Marquisses de Bellefons, de Crequi, and d'Humieres. In the mean time the French Gentlemen who please themselves in the noise of Arms, not having any more wherewithal to bestow their time upon your frontier, desired leave of your Majesty to go to the succour of the City of Candia, which the Turks had laid siege to this long time. You gave them leave, and appointed them a Chef, who was the Duke de la Feuillade. But as the Venetians did not proceed as it was fitting in order to raise the siege, that succour was so far from being of any profit to them, that their General quarrelled with that Duke; who had so great a Contempt for him, as to break out many times even unmannerly against him. Upon which those Gentlemen being come back again without having wrought any thing that was considerable; the Turks, who apprehended it, flattered themselves, that they should soon make an end of their Enterprize.

The Duke de Navailles was not disencouraged with the distastes, which the Duke de la Feuillade gave to such, as after his example had had a desire to go to the relief of a place, which was so important

portant to Christendom. And as your Majesty would have been very glad, that it had been Relieved, you sent him with some regular Troops thither under your Fleet, which was commanded by the Duke of *Beaufort*. The Duke *de Navailles* landed his Troops, notwithstanding a great fire of Cannon from the *Turks*: and having sent to observe their Camp, he had no sooner given some days repose to his men, but he made a sally upon them: which was so vigorous a one, that every thing fled before him. But the fire having taken hold of a Magazine of Powder of those *Barbarians*, every one was intimidated at it, as if it had been a mine, which had been sprung to destroy them. So running away in their turns too, the *Turks* who perceived them in that *Panick* fear, came to the charge, and cut them all in pieces. This encreased the disorder of those who were behind. They retired in Confusion. So that there were some Persons of Quality here kill'd; and probably the Marquis *de Faber*, the only Son of the Marechal, was of that number; because after the fight he did not return back with the others. And yet he was not found amongst the dead neither: no more was the Duke of *Beaufort*, who had had the imprudence to Land, contrary to the duty of an Admiral: who is only to fight upon Sea, without stirring ever out of his Vessel, unless it be ready to be sunk. However it was, this expedition having had no better a success with it than that of the Duke *de la Feuillade*, and on the contrary the Arms of your Majesty appearing to be concerned in this, that you had there some Regular Troops, you received the Duke *de Navailles* ill; upon whom those who were present at the
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Action cast the blame of the misfortune that had happen'd. And yet there was no appearance, that he was in fault neither. Considering, that it is impossible for a General, to foresee such an Accident as that; and to maintain his Troops against a *Panick* Fright. But as it is a difficult thing to justifie ones self at the Court, especially when one hath a Minister upon one's back, and that one is not besides agreeable to the Ladies, he had orders to withdraw himself.

The Place did not make it long afterwards, before it surrender'd. But it was fit that the *Turks* should order it to be Rebuilt again, it was so ill treated with the Cannon. It is pretended, that there hath not been so memorable a siege seen of a long time: nor in which there hath passed actions, more hot and more vigorous. Indeed as for either the duration of it, or the number of men who perished at it on one side and the other, I do not know of any, which can enter into comparison with it. For it lasted many years, and the Besiegers lost near sixscore thousand men at it, and the Besieged near thirty eight thousand.

In the mean time the succour which your Majesty had sent to the *Venetians*, not being grateful at all to the *Grand Signior*, he sent a *Chiaoux* to you to explain himself with you thereupon; and to renew the Treaty of Commerce, which there had always been betwixt the two Nations. But your Majesty, who had too much Resolution to follow the example of some of your Predecessors, who have suffered sometimes those Princes to bespeak them in Course Complements, stopped the Mouth of that *Chiaoux* the moment that he offered to speak more high than he ought.

Not.

Notwithstanding the Peace which your Majesty had re-established in *Europe* by the last Treaty, which had been concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*, the Duke of *Lorain* Armed continually: because he supposed, that the *Potentates*, who had declared themselves for obliging you to lay down your Arms, would not suffer that you should fall upon him. But that which encouraged him above all to Rise, was, that the *Hollanders*, who thought themselves Powerful because they were extremely rich, did not much observe their measures with your Majesty. *Van Benninghen* had spoken to you many times of the Force of the *United Provinces*: giving you to understand, that they would fall upon your back, if you pretended to trouble the repose of your Neighbours. His *hardiesse* proceeded even to that, that he had caused a Medal to be struck, which Alluding to the Miracle that *Joshua* wrought when he stopped the course of the *Sun*, was to Hit your Majesty; You, who had taken the *Sun* for your *Devise*, and who knew that that Minister's name was *Joshua*. For one saw very well, that he meant to lay by that, that he had stopped your Carreer by the Treaty of Peace, which he had obliged you to come to: Which was also well enough designed by him in that Medal; where in the Circle about his Effigies, he had caused these words to be put in Latin, *In conspectu meo stetit sol*. The Duke of *Lorain* drew a consequence from hence, which animated him against you. Your Majesty, who had very good notice of it, ordered it to be told him, that he should find himself deceived, unless he would be wiser: and that if he obliged you again once to strip him of his Country, he should never re-enter into it: That you desired

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positively that he should disarm ; and that he had but six Weeks to resolve himself.

This Complement, made with the Authority of a Master, had in it wherewithal to astonish the Duke. Nevertheless seeking still how to cover his ill will under a specious pretence, he remonstrated to your Majesty, that he was not as yet in safety on the side of the *Eleñor Palatine* : who from time to time made still incursions upon his frontier. So that if you would be obeyed, it was convenient that you did him the favour to settle that affair in order. Your Majesty saw very well, that this was but an Evasion. However as it made a shew of justice in relation to what you demanded, your Majesty sent to him an Act of *Garranty*, and the same to the *Eleñor Palatine* : by which you promised the one and the other, to give them your succour, in case that there should be either of them so rash, as to break the Treaty which they had made with one another. The *Eleñor Palatine* acquiesced in it immediately : And then the pretence of the Duke not being possible to subsist longer, he was obliged to obey you.

Your Majesty perceiving now no more appearance of a Broil on that side, thought of nothing more than to be avenged of the *Hollanders* ; whose haughtinesses you could not digest. The Marquis of *Louvois*, who desired only a War, excited you the more to it, by representing to you the ingratitude of those people ; who had so many obligations in particular to you : not reckoning upon any of those for which they were indebted to *Lewis* the 13th, and to *Henry* the 4th, your Father and your Uncle ; without whose succour, they would never have been able to have made head against the
House

House of *Austria*. But if they had had no more to do, than to make it appear, that they were not Ungrateful, it had not been a very difficult thing for them. Because what obligation soever one Estate hath to another, this does not command them however to put their Necks into a Halter their own selves. And therefore they had done nothing, but what they were bound to do in Good Policy, when they had hinder'd that you should not conquer the rest of *Flanders*. But it was not the same thing as to the other occasions of the Complaints which you had against them; which no body neither can excuse them for.

However it was, your Majesty having imprinted it firmly in your mind to bring them to Repent themselves, as soon as you should find an opportunity for it, commanded me to fill your Coffers, which were drained by the Prodigious disbursements which you had made. In truth there was now nothing within them; although your Revenues had been augmented considerably, and that you had done many things which were extraordinary, whereby you had raised a great deal of Money.

In the mean time, I ought to confess to your Majesty, that I served you ill, in the Proposal which was made for a Visitation upon those, who falsely pretended to *Gentility*. And if ever there is the like Affair done in your Reign, or under that of your Successors, they must have a great care how they follow my example. For things of this nature ought not to be put into the hands of the *Farmers*: who having no other interest in it than to get their Money, persecute the *Gentlemen*, who are really such, but who have not the Money to give them; and substitute in their places those,

who are no *Gentlemen*, provided that they buy with ready money the Privilege which they have, of making what persons they see good to be declared *Gentlemen*. This is an Abuse which ought not to be suffered; and which besides is enough to lose your Majesty the Amity which your Gentry hath for you. Because they have reason to complain, that the persecution which they suffer is done far less with an intention to purge away the *Blemishes* which dishonour them, than it is to dive indifferently into the Pockets of all their Members. It is much better, that this *Visitation* should be made at the Request of your *Solicitors-General*, and of their substitutes: and that you did erect an Office of Receivers, in whose hands to remit the Fines of such, as shall be so condemned, in order to be brought into your *Royal Treasury*. By this way, you will not incur the imputation of abandoning the Widow and the Orphan to the Extortioners; Neither will you Act but by the motive of justice. You will find likewise, that amongst those, who have obtained *Arrests*, there is a multitude of *Gentlemen* of the *New Impression*, and who have no obligation for it but to their money. So after having payed for assuming a Quality, which does not belong to them, it is good that they pay again for the Usurpation that they have committed. which is so much the more just, as your Majesty hath a considerable interest to punish those, who serve themselves of ill means to come to the end of their intentions.

The Command which your Majesty gave me to fill your Coffers, made me think of an Edict, which did appear to be beneficial to the Publick,
and

and which really is so, if one takes the pains to consider it. It is that of the *Comptrolment of the Writs*, by which one stops all the Cheats, which were committed heretofore by *Antedates*. Only it does not provide against the dishonesty of the *Serjeants*, who may still shuffle in their *significations*, and render even their falsities the more Authentick by that *Comptrol*. But it is supposed, that one takes all the precaution imaginable, as to that Matter, by obliging them to assist themselves with Witnesses; and this however is always very much, that there is a remedy certain, against the mischief, which they were otherwise capable of doing by an *Antedated Writ*. However it is, your Majesty finding that this was just, it was established in the Kingdom; although it had met with difficulty, in a great many places. Indeed whether it was, that there were Judges, who were not satisfied with it, for reasons which I do not penetrate into; or that it displeased some particular persons, whose humours sometimes are so remote from reason, that the love of a trifle keeps them, that they do not see of what consequence things are to them; it was convenient to serve yourself of your Royal Authority, to do them good whether they would or no.

That which appeared the most extraordinary to me was this; That the *Parliament of Tholouse* committed in it an oversight, which your Majesty pardoned in *them*; but which nevertheless you thought convenient to punish in the person of *him*, who was the most in fault of all their Members. For there must be always some body punished, to serve for an example to others; and so there will be no danger of a relapse. The business was, That

Parliament gave out *Arrest*, to oblige those who had the care of levying this Tax, that they should restore a Horse, which had been sold for the payment of the Fine, which was commanded by the Edict, with relation to those who should be guilty of any Contravention thereunto. Now that *Arrest* was a thing of the highest insolence : Because it was to make void properly your Edict, or at least to have so little a regard to it, that it was all one as if they had said, that they would not submit to it but so far only, as they took a fancy to do. Nevertheless as in these sort of Affairs it is necessary always to go very carefully, for fear of exposing your Authority to ill purpose, I ordered it to be told the *Premier President*, who had not dipped himself in it, that it was fitting he should Annul that Arrest, or he might tarry till he saw some punishment should fall for it upon his Society : That it was his concern to have hindred it : *His*, who was the Head of them, and to whom the fault would be attributed, let him be never so innocent. I wrote in like manner to your *Solicitor General*, and to your *Advocates General*, though that Arrest had been made without them, to take better care another time to do the duty of their Offices : And having touched them all upon the point of Honour, the *Premier President* called an Assembly Extraordinary of the Parliament, where the *Farmer General* of your *Demefne* was present by my order. He asked to speak to them : and that Company having given him the leave, he shew them the Error that they had committed ; and told them, that there was but one way to repair it, which was to cassate that Decree which they had made. For I was very glad to spare your Majesty the trouble
which

which you would have had to be obliged to punish it: Besides, that when a Minister can *Salve the Appearances*, and not hazard the Authority of his Master, it is his Prudence to do so.

The Parliament endeavoured to decline that Affront by proposing a number of other expedients, whereby they thought to save their Honour. But the *Farmer* would not recede from his proposition: And so the Parliament, to eschew the punishment which was due to them, made void, what they had done, their own selves.

I did not speak of this Affair to your Majesty, till after it was consummated: Because it was my agreement with you, when I took upon me the Administration of your Revenue, that you should trust yourself to me in the things which concerned my charge. And indeed the person, whom you make a choice of to fill that Post, ought to have an absolute Authority, or else he can never acquit himself of his duty as he should. In the Affairs of this kind, your Majesty is not to consult any, but such as you have established for your Counsel. For if you suppose, that the persons whom you employ to be your other Judges are to be called to here, I dare say, you will deceive yourself very much. The men of the *Robe* especially understand nothing of it: and quite on the contrary, they are good for nothing but to spoil all. They frame a thousand difficulties upon the point of a Needle: which must be endeavoured to be avoided in this place; because in the Revenue, all the secret is in the dispatch.

I will quote to your Majesty an example on this subject, and one which you will remember yourself of very well. Monsieur de la Reine, whom

you had made Lieutenant of the Government of the City of *Paris*, to the end that that great City which is not only the Capital of your Kingdom, but which deserves also to be the same of the World entirely, for its Beauty, for its Grandeur, and for its Riches, should be otherwise managed, than it had been for the time past ; Monsieur *de la Reine*, I say, who in that quality had a particular inspection over what was acted there, was forward to oppose himself against the Lease, which I was ordering to be made of the *Scoops*, which were of the *Demefnes* of your Majesty. He imagined, that this Affair which concerned the Fisher-Women, and other people of that nature, would be apt to raise a Sedition. His intention could not be blamed : because it was directed only to a good end. Yet he was mistaken : no body stirred, and your Majesty reaped the Revenue, which you had reckoned upon from thence.

I could gather you a thousand instances of this nature, and by which your Majesty would see, that the reach of those mens Souls does not go beyond their Trade. But as that would be needless, it is better that I remark to you what is the cause of it. Which is, that they are trained up to form to themselves Phantoms of every thing, and to fight against them when they have done. They imagine, that it is in the Revenue, as it is in a *Process* : where they must be always upon the Guard against the subtilties of a Barreter. So they fall into the *Chicanery* themselves, which they would avoid from others ; and rather than to depart from their Maxims, they would choose to consent, that the State should go upside down.

However

However it is, your Majesty having approved of all that I had done in relation to the Parliament of *Tholouse*, you sent a Letter under your *Signet* to Banish the President *de la Terrasse*, who had given out the first *Arrest*; and to give a Pension of two thousand *Livres* to the *Premier President*, who had pronounced the second. For it is fit, that the punishment and the reward should go hand in hand, to encourage those who do their duty, and to make those to be afraid who do it not. Otherwise there would be neither emulation nor caution amongst them: which are two things, that however are absolutely necessary, when one would make a state to flourish.

As for *Tours*, it flourished so very much, that the same alone of your name excluded from the Crown of *Poland* the Prince of *Lorain*; who without that would have had a good Interest there. That Nation elected themselves a Sovereign, contrary to their usual Maxim, and even contrary to the constitutions of the State. But they thought, that it became them to derogate from those, rather than to displease your Majesty; who would have been sorry to see their choice to have fallen upon that Prince.

About that time your Majesty seemed to me to be mighty pensive: Upon which having taken the liberty to ask you, what you had done, you did me the favour to open your heart to me. You told me, that there was something a brewing against the repose of your State. That a man, you did not know who as yet, but whose Picture had been sent to you out of *England*, went up and down all the Courts, where under the pretence of the conservation of the pretended Reformed Religion,

ligion, he endeavoured to animate the Powers against you. That he was gone out of *England* to the Princes of the North : where he strove to persuade those, who were not yet entred into the *Triple Alliance*, to join themselves to the others. That an attempt of this nature deserved an exemplary punishment : but you did not know what way to take to do it ; because there was no likelihood, that any Prince would deliver him into your hands. That you must therefore resolve to carry him off by force : and yet this seemed to you impossible, upon the account that every one being jealous of his liberty, it was too much to expose the persons whom you should employ in it. Besides, that you did not know, upon whom to cast your eyes for an affair of this consequence, which ought to be secret ; and which you had not neither communicated to any, but to me.

I asked your Majesty, whether the man, that you spoke to me of, was a *French Man* ; for you had not said any thing to me as to that matter ? You answered me, Yes ; and that that was the thing which put you so much in anger at it. Whereupon, as I could not blame your resentments, I told you, that my Advice was, that you should communicate the thing to *Monsieur de Turenne* : who knowing the best of any, the men *de tête* and of resolution, would furnish you with them to bring away this man into *France* : or at least, if they found too many obstacles to that, to *Punish* him. Your Majesty answer'd me, That you would not, that they should kill him : Because before you would have him to be punished, you desired to know his Accomplices, whereof probably there was a great number : And further,

ther, that you would follow the Counsel which I had given you, which you found was good : being perswaded that Monsieur *de Turenne* would be faithful to you, although he was a *Huguenot* : For he was not as yet Converted in the time that I speak of : and it was not till two or three months after.

I took the liberty to say to your Majesty, that I humbly begged you to mention nothing of it to the Marquis of *Louvois* : Because the jealousy which he bore to Monsieur *de Turenne*, would be a cause perhaps, that the thing might miscarry. This was enough to say to you, to give you to understand, that I did not believe him to be so dearly addicted to your Service, as that he was not capable for his own particular Interests to forget those of the State. So your Majesty apprehending very well, what it was that I meant to tell you, promised me not to speak of it to any body : but you made me at the same time a *reprimand* for this, that I judged so ill of my Neighbour.

You observed your *Royal Word* to me, and spoke to none of it, but to Monsieur *de Turenne*, who appointed you five Officers to execute your Enterprize. And as you knew, where the Man in question was, and all the life that he lead, they went into *Switzerland*, whither he was but just come : where they *Trapt* him, as he was passing from one place to another ; and having conducted him into *France*, with all the prudence which it was fitting for them to use to avoid the danger, that they were threatned with, if they had been caught themselves, you put him into the hands of Justice in order to have his *Process* drawn and finished.

This

This miserable Creature was found to be a *Burgois* of *Rochelle*, who was of the pretended Reformed Religion: And although he had been taken, as I may say, *flagrante delicto*, and that they had given him so many proofs of their knowing of his Affairs, that it was impossible for him to doubt of it, he would not however confess any thing at all of what was demanded of him. This did not hinder, but they put his *Process* in a readiness for *Judgment*: and as he foresaw, that he should end his life by an infamous Death, he was so abandoned by God, that he contrived to make away himself. He cut off his *Privy Members* with a piece of a Glass, which was easie enough to be found in his Dungeon. And having hid them under his Straw-Bed, he was expecting to escape the punishment, which was due so justly to his Crime, when the paleness into which that accident cast him, occasioned it to be discovered, what his despair had been. A Door-keeper found out those wretched pieces, where he had hid them; and having given notice to the *Justices* of it, they ordered him to be Executed in two hours after.

See, what was the end of this unfortunate wretch, who endeavoured in the Courts whither he went to cover his Crime under the Zeal of Religion: When, although a Man may not fear that he is mistaken in the Profession which he is of, and that he can persist in it too with the thoughts that it is the only means to procure his Salvation, especially when he hath been Educated in it; Yet it is a certain truth, that this ought never to oblige him to fail in his obedience, which he owes to his Prince: Much less to raise up against him *Powers* to make War upon him. The Laws of God as
well

well as the laws of Man condemn it, *en tous & par tous*. And do we not see commonly, that it is but a pretence, which one makes use of to cover his crime? And above all, upon this occasion, in which one cannot attribute it but to a false Zeal, a thing which was thus followed by an action of despair, and which is so little from God, that he must be quite abandoned by him to resolve upon it.

I have been a little large upon this Business, whereof the circumstances will not appear perhaps to be of so great a consequence to your Majesty, as to make such a long Narration of it to you: But I was very glad to have you to remember it, to tell you at the same time, that the persons, whom the Viscount of *Turenne* had made choice of for you, had done you service great enough for them to be consider'd by the Marquis of *Louvois*. And yet as he was vexed, that the thing had been acted without the participation of it to him, those persons had not a more Mortal Enemy. He caused them to be all broke, one after another, upon different pretences: and at length he ill-treated *Briqueman*, a Colonel of horse, so very much, that to avoid his persecution, he quitted his Country, and went to seek an Employment under the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*. It is impossible, that your Majesty should enter into the particular Cognizance of every thing which is done in your Kingdom: You, who are possessed with so many great affairs, and who think it not proper to forsake those to give your application to the less. In the mean time, you are very often abused; and I am glad at least, that your Majesty should know it, because it is for your service.

In

In the time that this affair was in Agitation, your Majesty who perswaded your self every day more and more, that the interest which the Duke of *Lorain* had to live amicably with you, would lead him to avoid all the occasions of giving Trouble to you, endeavoured on your side to take from him intirely the suspicion, which he had sometime been in, that you intended to drive him out of his Country. And yet instead of doing you that justice, he became jealous of this, that you were endeavouring to draw his Nephew out of the hands of the *Emperor*; which he assured himself was but only to keep him in awe the more.

The Trouble, which he had at this, although the thing did not succeed, made him, without considering of the consequences which his Procedure was to have, that he set himself upon fortifying *Chatè* and *Epinal*, contrary to the faith of the Treaty which he had held with you. He added together with that enterprize, the *hardiesse* to beat down the Pillars upon which there were the Arms of your Majesty; as being such a testimony of your Jurisdiction, as he would not agree to. You understood besides, that he made Levies in *Germany*; and that he still kept up there the Regiments, which he had made a shew, as if he would have disbanded. So your Majesty, not being able to dissemble all these Actions, you order'd the Marquis de *Fourilles* to enter into his Country: who missed of him but a quarter of an hour. For he had had notice time enough, when they saw the Troops, to oblige him to get a Horseback: And as his own conscience was a Reproach to him, he fled amongst the Mountains de *Voges*; where not believing himself yet in safety,
he

he was forced to avoid your Anger to go a Vagabond from one Part to another, without daring to speak many times who he was. A strange Reduction for a Sovereign Prince, who might have lived at his ease, if he had had more conduct! But it is very just, that those who so fail in that, should have a time to do *Penance* for it: Because this teaches others the difference, which there is betwixt the fortune of a Wise, and that of a Hot-headed man.

You possessed yourself after this of his Country, which made but a feeble resistance: and having ordered the Places to be demolished, which were to be suspected by you, you informed the *Diet* of *Ratisbonne* with the just reasons, which you had had for it. Because you mistrusted, that he would endeavour to render you ill to the *Empire*, and that it should not be your fault if That took up arms against you. Thus you were very willing to prevent his ill designs; and that all *Europe* should not attribute that to your Ambition, which was no more than the effect of your justice. And it is the way which all Princes use, who are Wise and Prudent. Because by saying Nothing, either it seems, as if they are Conscious to themselves, that they are in a fault; Or, that they presume so very much upon their strength, that they do not Vouchsafe to impart to any, things, which ought nevertheless to be suspected, especially when they have two faces, and that there does an Ambition appear in them so openly, that unless one is instructed to the contrary, there is no body who would not be mistaken about them.

The

The Duke, after having been some time a Fugitive, retired to *Cologne* : where he brewed new Practises in secret against your Majesty. To whom thinking to give a great vexation, he counselled that City to receive a Garison of the *Dutch*. He treated also with the *Spaniards* about some Regiments, which he had on foot ; and to which he gave for a *Commandant* the Prince of *Vandemont* his Son, whom he had had by the Princess of *Cantecroix*, and whom he would have fain advanced upon the Throne of *Lorain* to the prejudice of his Nephew.

Your Majesty, who thought now more than ever of carrying the War into *Holland*, observing that that Prince, not contented with all this, did also every thing that he could in *Germany* to League the Princes of the *Empire* against you, you sent thither on your side Ministers to Counterwork his designs. In the mean time nothing seeming to you of so great a consequence, as to break the *Tripple Alliance*, which subsisted still, you drew near to the Coasts towards *England*, under a pretence of visiting your Places, which lye upon the Sea. And as you was there, the Dutcheß of *Orleans* made a pretence on her Part, that the Neighbourhood invited her to go to see the King her Brother, insomuch that she desired your leave for it. You had no mind to refuse that to her ; all this being concerted betwixt you : and that whilest she should be there, she should use the utmost of her Power to attract that Prince into your interests. She took with her a very handsome young Lady, who was *Mademoiselle de Kerouel* ; and who had done all, that she had been able, to Touch your heart. But her *Star* not permitting
it,

it, that you should look upon her with so kind an Eye as she would have wished, she fell to reckon upon the Conquest of the King of *England*, who had a great *foible* for handsome Persons. The Dutcheſs, who did rely upon that, and who to make her sparkle the more, had made her for the very purpose some fine presents, took the time when her brother was in a good humour, to make her propositions to him. *Mademoiselle de Kerouel* entered in to them *adroitment*, by order of her Mistress; and promised that Prince to come to wait upon him again, as soon as the Dutcheſs, your handsome Sister, was returned into *France*, if that would content him. So that Prince sacrificing the *Hollanders* to his New Passion, Renounced to the Treaty of the *Tripple Alliance*, and took the measures with your Majesty to Humble that Commonwealth.

The Marquis of *Vitry*, whom you had sent at the same time into *Sweden* in Quality of your Ambassador Extraordinary, operated also the same thing with his Majesty of *Sweden*: who shew himself as much in love with your Money, as the King of *England* was with *Mademoiselle de Kerouel*. Thus all things contributing to your good fortune and to your satisfaction, you acted with the Elector of *Cologne*, who had been in your interests this great while, that he should order things so, as that the *Hollanders* should withdraw the Garison which they had put into the Capital City of his Electorate. This affair was however difficult enough to manage; by reason that the inhabitants pretend a Right to be the Masters of that City, with an Exclusion of the *Elect*or; which makes them, that they have continually a jealousy of him.

But in the time that this was a Negotiating, the Dutcheſs your handſome Siſter died, in the compaſs of an hour, after the drinking of a glaſs of the Water of *Succory*. An accident ſo ſudden, joyned to her conſtitution which in all appearance was good, and to her extraordinary Youth, occaſioned a ſuſpicion amongſt very many people, that this did not happen Naturally; and ſhe ſaid herſelf, before ſhe died, that ſhe was poiſoned. Now all this appearing to be plauſible, upon the occaſion that ſome to whom your Brother gave a great Access to his perſon; had always laboured to make them to lead an ill life together, your Maſteſty did whatever you was able to inform your ſelf about it. Indeed beſides the intereſt which you had to puniſh ſo black a crime, if it was Proved, you had reaſon to fear, but that it might interrupt the good underſtanding which there was betwixt the King of *England* and you. Withal, it was convenient to examine into the bottom, from whence that poiſon had its ſource. The conſequences whereof were extreamly dangerous: Eſpecially ſince they began very much to ſpeak of the like things done at *Paris*, where one ſaw every day ſudden deaths, without ones being able to impute them to any Natural accident.

So you commanded the *Body* to be opened by your Surgeons; and the *Physicians* were ordered thither, to ſpeak their Opinions to it, in the preſence of the Ambaſſadour of *England*, whom you had ordered to be called alſo. But although they might turn over the Entrails on all ſides, and diſcover nothing as to what was ſaid was ſuſpected, they will have much ado to convince Poſterity of the truth of their Report.

However

However it was, the King of *England* being satisfied with the pains which you had taken to clear up the matter, continued to take the measures with you for the Pulling down the *Dutch*. Your Majesty on the other hand seeing the Duke your Brother a Widower, thought of Remarrying of him in *Germany*: to the intent, that that Alliance should serve you for a pledge of the fidelity of some Prince of the Empire. The *Eleſtor Palatine* had a Daughter, who was of age for your purpose: Therefore your Majesty having fixed your choice upon her, you negotiated that Marriage with her father: to which there was no obstacle, but by the way of Religion, which was different. But that was soon taken off. So that you agreed, the one and the other, upon what conditions it should be.

- The Bishop of *Munſter* enter'd also into your interests, and promised you to *Arm* on his side, to Humble that Republique. For he hoped, that whilst your Majesty should attack it one way, he should do the same thing on another, so well, that he should find no resistance to him. But I cannot sufficiently comprehend, what the Policy is of a small Prince, in such an Adventure. And can he be so blinded, as to believe, that he shall be suffered to partake of the spoils of an Enemy, whose riches create them so much Envy, that one dies with the impatience for them? There must be an Account made sooner or later; and then it is, that the stronger gives the weaker the law.

It seems to me, that this hath been always practised: and I find really, that it is dangerous to interest a Prince in ones affairs, who is greater than ones self. I see for example, that when the

Princes to whom appertained the succession of the Estates of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, called the House of *Austria* to their assistance, she seized upon that succession; which she could not perswade herself to restore again, till after she had been obliged to it by stroke of Cannon. For an example of another kind, let one consider, what hath passed in the War, which I am upon the point of speaking of just now; and whether the Emperor hath ever offered to restore *Philipsbourg*, although he had promised before the taking of it, that as soon as he should become the Master of it, he would restore it to its Rightful Prince, who is the Bishop of *Spire*? There is nothing so nice, as to depend so upon a greater one than ones self: and *France* is no more exempt than others from doing that injustice. From whence it must be concluded, that if a Prince, who is but of an indifferent power, did take his measures aright, he would never venture himself with those, who can speak to him in the language of *Masters*; and whose custom it is to have no other rule of their actions, than their own Interest.

The *Hollanders*, who saw themselves threatned upon so many sides, were in a confusion, as is more easie to be imagined, than to describe. For besides all this, there was a division amongst themselves: the effects whereof were full as much to be feared, as all the forces which they were threatned with. They had not given till then any Authority to the Prince of *Orange*: and bestowing themselves entirely all to Commerce, they had not minded any thing more, than how to make *that* flourish, through the four quarters of the Earth. Whereby all their power was reduced to
what

what they had at Sea, without their appearing to take care in any manner of having forces upon Land.

John de Witt, the Pensionary of *Holland*, was at the Head of that Republick. A person very well understood in the government of that State: but who to the number of the good qualities, which his Enemies ascribed to him themselves, mixed the Defect which I have spoken of before, of preferring his own particular Interest to that of the publick. So he opposed himself with all his Might to this, that the Prince of *Orange* should have any Authority: and the occasion of it was, because his Father had been ill-treated by the Father of that Prince, who had kept him in prison for some time. Now as a State cannot however subsist, but by its reputation; and that the reputation in which this Country was, went no further than as to what concerned the Sea and their Riches, a great many good Heads proposed to restore to that Prince the same Trust, which his Predecessors had had in the Republick. They Grounded themselves upon this; that there was wanting to it a Head, whose name should carry a stroke with it in foreign Countrys; where *de Wit* was not known, but by some private Persons, who looked upon him rather as a good Merchant, than as a Great Man of State. That it was not the same with the Prince of *Orange*: That the great Actions of his Fathers spoke for him: and besides that, he was a near relation to the most part of the Princes of *Germany*, which would give them a facility to make Alliances with them. To which it was to be added, that the honour which he had to be the Nephew of the King of *England*

ought to be of a great consideration to them in the present conjuncture : whereby he would be enabled to abate the blows which were made at him, and to manage their interests.

At length these reasons having touched the greater part, that Prince, who bore them up by a strong Intrigue, into which there were enter'd all the Creatures of his house, was declared *Stadtholder* : that is to say, Captain-General and Governor of the Country. *De Witt* who had set himself against it so openly, from hence, that the Commonwealth at the death of *William* the 2^d, had passed a Decree, by which they were bound never to invest again in one and the same person the offices which had been possessed by that Prince, and which consisted in those of *Stadtholder* and the *Great Admiral* ; *De Witt*, I say, seeing himself *Wiped* so, turned all his endeavours to get that decree to be executed, and to raise up *Crosses* to him. The Prince of *Orange* on his side laboured to destroy the Cabals of that Enemy ; whom he hated so much the more, as he had the insolence to offer to compare himself with him. And he was in the right : Because there is nothing more injurious to a person of a Great Birth, than to meet with a *Minister*, who forgets himself so strangely, as to pretend to dispense with himself from paying to him, that, which is his due. It is an encroachment which is unpardonable : and when it arises in another place than in a Commonwealth, it belongs to the Sovereign to take the cognizance of it ; and to settle the order in it, which his Prudence dictates to him : For if he does not remedy it, the consequences may recoil even upon Him. A Man of that Rank, who sees
himself

himself neglected by him to that degree, that he does not enter in any manner into his resentments, is capable of making a change of the object of his Anger. There needs nothing sometimes to excite great troubles: and the least negligence hath consequences with it, which it is often difficult to redress. Not but that the Prince is oblig'd to take the part of his Minister against all the World, who otherwise would not have been in haste to serve him: Especially in a Post, as that is, in which it is impossible that one should not beget himself Enemies. But it concerns him to weigh things according to justice; and to make an exact distinction of what proceeds on the part of the Zeal, which he hath for his service; and what from the abundance of his sense, or sometimes even from *Caprice*.

C H A P. V.

An Account of what passed from the War of Holland, to the Treaty of Nimmeghen.

THE Reflexions last past having interrupted the course of the Recital, which I was making to your Majesty of your great Actions, I will resume it again there, where I left off, to tell you; that the Declaration of the War having been presently followed with what I have said about the Prince of Orange, you entered some days after, upon the Lands of that Republick: Who had withdrawn their Troops out of *Cologne*, in whose place there were entred there three thousand men of the Circle of *Westphalia*. Your Army was formidable upon all Accounts; and there had not of a long time so handsom and so numerous a one been seen. But that in which your Power shined to admiration, was, that the Prince of Conde had another with him of very near the same force; Besides a flying Camp, which was Commanded by the Count of *Chantilly*.

The Duke of *Lorain* had no mind to tarry for you at *Cologne*. He was gone from thence since the last year; because of some Troops, which you had sent to Winter in that Country, in whose hands he was afraid to fall. He withdrew to *Francfort*: where he set himself upon making new Levies, with the hopes, that this War which was coming so near home to the Empire, would raise you so many Enemies, that he should quickly have

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an opportunity to let you see his ill will. The Conquests which you made, and which were also of another rapidity than those that I have spoken of before; because in less than a month you reduced under your obedience forty fortified Towns; one of which alone would have stopped formerly for almost a Year together a considerable Army; Your Conquests, I say, having raised you up new Enemies, the Emperor sent an Army against you, to which there was joyned the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* with his Troops. Their intention was to make the Princes of the Empire, who were declared for you, to repent of it, by taking Winter Quarters in their Country. But all their efforts served only to increase the Glory of your Majesty: Because instead of succeeding in their intentions, the Viscount of *Turenne* pushed them back as far as into the Country of *Marck*, where he took his Winter Quarters himself.

This great Action had been preceded with a passage over the *Rhine*, which your Troops had crossed *swimming*. From whence there followed so great a consternation amongst the Enemy, that there wanted but a little of your making yourself the Master of *Amsterdam*. Only the Burgher-Master of that City having brought them to consent to let loose the Sluces rather, than to accept of another Sovereign, you missed of that so favourable an occasion. In the mean time as they were reduced to extremity, they proposed to you a Peace; which the Prince of *Conde*, who had been wounded at the passage of the *Rhine*, Counsell'd you to accept of. All your Generals were of the same Opinion: and they grounded themselves upon this, That the *Emperor* and the *Elector*
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of *Brandenburgh* had declared already against you ; and that the whole Empire entirely, which ought to be no less jealous of your Conquests, would not fail to follow their Example. But the Marquis of *Louvois*, who flattered himself that he alone knew more than so many great Men all together, gave you to understand, that this Republick was so depressed, thar it could never get up again. So that it was not convenient to make any other composition with it, than that of receiving it under your Obedience . That as yet however they were too happy to accept of that : *They*, who had purchased the Succours of the Princes, who did declare themselves for them, at so dear a Price, that it was impossible but they should sink under it. That it was good to *strike the Iron, whilest it was hot* ; and not to tarry, till they took other measures for a Peace : That it concerned your Majesty not to let go so good an opportunity, which you would never recover again in your life.

He relied, for what he said, upon some pretended Intelligences, which he had in the Country ; and your Majesty confiding in him so much the more, as you left the conduct of the *secret Affairs* to him, you sent back the Ambassadors of that Republick, who were come as far as to your Camp to offer advantageous Conditions to you. They returned thither again however some days after, to tender to you yet greater offers. But your Minister spinning out things at large, for the sake of the advantage which he found as to his own particular to continue the War; the Inhabitants of the *Hague* Massacred in the *interim*, *John de Witt* : upon which, as it was he who had sent the Ambassadors to you, they were soon recalled again after his Death.

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This is what ought to teach us, that we are never to refuse, for the hopes of a greater advantage, the offers which are reasonable. For besides that it is not adviseable ever to render an Enemy desperate, one knows, that there needs nothing to make a change in the face of Affairs in an Instant. So that they must be concluded, whilst they are hot : and it was what was convenient to do particularly upon this occasion. Because you had endeavoured to insinuate, that the War which you had undertook was only to Humble that Republick. Now you did Humble it sufficiently by holding them to it, to grant you, what they did offer to you. Whereas in pushing on your pretensions further, it was to make it to appear too clearly, that you preferred your Interest to your Revenge : which was the way still to raise up new Enemies against you : and this is the obligation, which you have, to the Marquis of Louvois. I shall add to that, that the hatred which he had for me was so great, that it contributed in some measure to induce him to give that ill Counsel to your Majesty. For he imagined, that the continuation of the War, which he foresaw would grow furious, ere long, would put me out of a condition to find Funds sufficient for the expence, which you would be obliged to be at : and that this would make me to lose the Honour of your favour.

But this is not the only fault which he committed, during this Campagne. It was he also, who was the cause that the City of *Amsterdam* did not open its Gates to your Majesty. For after you had put a Garison into *Utrecht*, he sent the Marquis of *Rocheport* to Command at that Avenue :
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and that General of a *New impression* failed to seize upon *Muyden* by so dreadful an oversight, that one cannot sufficiently be surprized at the goodness which your Majesty hath, that you did not command them to cut off his head. I presume you know the reasons, upon which that Marquis protected that General. They are the same with those, which gave him the Confidence to ask for *Madame du Fresnoy*, the Place which you were designing to create of *Dame du Lit* to the Queen, your Consort. Whereby that Office was filled by the Wife of his *Commis*, who is the Son of an Apothecary, and by the Daughter of a little *Commis* to the Post; whereas a Lady of the first Quality, and even a Dutches might think herself to be very much Honour'd to have it. I say nothing of the shame, which it was to him, to place before a Princess, who was so modest and so virtuous, a person whose reputation was not Good. These are things, as are not to be pardoned: and which give me still an occasion, to admire the goodness of your Majesty.

The refusal, which he had given to the Peace, soon cast all *Europe* into a Combustion. The *Spaniards*, who had yet more an interest than the *Emperor* and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* to hinder that you did not conquer *Holland*, put themselves in the field to favour the designs of the Prince of *Orange*. They joyned him: and if it was not, that you had had the precaution to gain the Count *de Marfin* who commanded them, they would have very much embarrassed the Duke *de Duras*, to whom you had given the command of your *Flying Camp* after the death of the Count of *Chamilly*. But he formed purposely a difficulty, which detained them some time,

time, before they passed the River *Roer* ; and this gave an opportunity to that Duke to save himself.

These great Transactions were also accompanied by a fight at Sea, whereof your Majesty had all the glory. For your Ships, which were in conjunction with the *English*, succoured those so seasonably, that they had been defeated without them. The *Dutch*, who believed you to be much more Redoubtable upon Land than Sea, were highly surprized at that Action, which gave them another *idea* of your power : and this was one of the principal reasons, why they had courted you so to a peace. Because they saw, they should have no better a *Bargain* of it, at Sea, than at Land ; and that it was better for them to come to an agreement with you, than to wait for things, which being uncertain might deceive them.

The end of this Campagne was still more glorious to your Majesty, than the beginnings had been. The Enemy having besieged *Charleroy* in the *interim*, that *Montal* who was the Governor of it was gone to look after *Tongres*, upon which he believed that they had a design ; he got himself within it again, at the head of a Squadron, and made them raise the siege.

All these happy successes created however the more Envy to your Majesty. And although you did not think in any manner whatsoever of troubling their repose, yet there were a great many who sided against you. The Duke of *Bavaria* nevertheless was resolved to continue *Neuter* ; and to the intent that they should not oblige him to declare himself against his will, he employed the money which your Majesty gave him in raising of
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new Troops. The Duke of *Hanover* promised you too the same thing: but he failed of his word, as I shall shew presently, although it had not been his own desire to do so.

Your Majesty having thus settled the order of the Affairs of that Country, you no sooner saw the Spring returned, but you laid siege to *Münster*: which you took in thirteen days after opening of the Trenches, although the Enemy had expected, that you should have met there with the *Bane* of your great designs. You passed from thence into *Lorain*, to hinder that the Duke of that name, who had joyned himself with your Enemies, should not draw the Country to his side. You ordered the Capital City there to be fortified, which was not in a condition to make a resistance in the manner that it was in: and after having seen the work go on upon it your self, you passed into *Alsatia*, to give the orders there which you judged necessary in the present conjuncture. You possessed yourself there of the places, which the Inhabitants themselves were otherwise the Masters of, in conformity to certain privileges, which they had obtained formerly from the Emperors; and which you had not thought it fitting to touch upon, ever since the Treaty of *Münster*. But your safety obliging you now to use another method with them, than you had done for the time past, you commanded those places to be demolished, without losing time.

In short, the thing required haste; and the Emperor had Put into the field, a second time, to create all the obstacles that he could, to the designs of your Majesty. The Viscount of *Turenne* advanced to meet that army, and offered them

them battel twice ; but *Montecuculi* who commanded them, finding it his best way not to give it, encamped himself so advantageously, that the Viscount of *Turenne* could not oblige him to fight. They set themselves therefore to observe one another, whilst they endeavoured, both of them, to gain the Bishop of *Wurtzburgh*, who was not as yet declared. The bridge which there was over the *Mayne*, and which was free from any Insult by the neighbourhood of the Capital City, render'd it self considerable to the two Parties. In the mean time, the Viscount of *Turenne* believing that he was secure of that Prince, because he had promised him to give no Passage to any body, which was all that he did desire ; he made some Magazines at *Wartheim*, with a design, that if he was obliged to continue there a long time, it should be a provision to serve him in case of necessity. But in the time that he thought himself so in safety through his promise, that Bishop treated with *Montecuculi*, who possessed himself by that means of *Wartheim*, and of whatever there was within it.

• There was a Need now of an extraordinary conduct, and of a prudence unparallel'd, for that General, to remedy the inconveniences which that breach of Faith drew upon him. Nevertheless, the long experience which he had had in the Art, having directed him to take his measures like a Great Captain, he posted himself advantageously, and laid up other Magazines, by the means whereof he waited to break all the Measures of *Montecuculi*. But at a time that he the least dreamed of it, there was a fire set in one and the same hour to the five Villages, where those

those Magazines were : so that this was far worser still, than that which the Bishop of *Wurtzburg* had done to him.

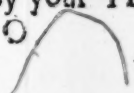
I cannot conceal from your Majesty the report, which spread abroad at the same time in your Army, upon so strange an Accident. Not, that I do dare to give credit to it : Because that which I have to tell you is so surprising and so horrid, that I am perswaded you will not only be altogether astonished at it yourself, but you will be even ready to tremble with the Indignation. So that if I did well, I should, no doubt, keep it from you. But then on the other side, can I continue silent upon so important a Fact ; and such as your Majesty hath an interest to bring to light ? All the Army would have it, that those *Incendiaris* had been suborned by the Marquis of *Louvois* : and that the jealousy which he bore to the Viscount of *Turenne*, and which every day increased still, was the cause that he committed this Treason against you. And that which gave an occasion to suspect him so much the more, was, that this *Great Man* could not contain himself from saying at the same time, that the Enemies which your Majesty had upon your hands out of your Kingdom, were very much to be feared ; but yet however those within it were still worse.

Your Majesty however possessed yourself of the City of *Treves*, whose *Elect* had declared himself openly enough against you, by delivering up *Coblentz* and *Hermanstein* to your Enemies. *Montecuculi* passed the *Rhine* at the first of those two places : and having been joyned by the Prince of *Orange*, they laid siege to the City of *Bonne*, which was worth nothing ; and where they tarried nevertheless

vertheless about three Weeks, before they could make themselves the Masters of it. Your Majesty knows the reasons, why you suffer'd that place to be taken without a blow. But if one believes also all, that the Officers of your Army said of it, and even some persons who have the honour to be very near to your Majesty; this was also a Trick of the Marquis of *Louvois*, who would hinder by that means, that the Viscount of *Turenne* should not acquire too much glory.

So all the Campagne ended with making the Bishop of *Wurtzburg* to repent himself of the breach of his Faith; whose fine Castle, which he had in the Country, that *Viscount* ruined; and whose Moveables he caused all to be burnt, without permitting that the Soldiers should plunder them; because he would not, that that Bishop should order them underhand to be bought up again: Which would have been but a light loss for him; the Soldiers giving things commonly for the 10th part of the value. And to speak the truth of it, he could not be chastised too grievously: the People, who fail so of their Word, deserving to be treated with the utmost rigour; In the mean time one may say on the other side, that the Viscount of *Turenne* had been over Credulous, especially with relation to a person who was so suspicious by his birth: from whence he might have presumed, that he would be much more in the Interests of the Enemy, than in His.

The Eleſtor Palatine turned his Back to you ſooner in time after: and he took for the pretence for it, that he ſuffered as much by your Troops, as if
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you were his declared Enemy. But it was impossible for you to do otherwise. Because the *Imperialists* hanker'd after *Philipsburgh*, and it was very fitting to draw near thither to cover it. I believe also, that that which befell you after the taking of *Bonne*, which had been preceded by the taking of *Naerden*, whereof the Prince of *Orange* had possessed himself through the *latchet* of the Governor, which obliged you to take an exemplary punishment of him; I believe, I say, that these two unhappy occurrences contributed very much to his defection. For you were obliged to abandon *Virecht*; and the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who commanded on that side in the place of the Marquis of *Rocheport*, whose incapacity had at last obliged you to withdraw him from that frontier, had a great deal of trouble to get off with his army. But however having effected it, contrary to the sentiments of very many, who thought that he would have had much more to suffer in so long a march, he took care of the *French Flanders*: upon which the *Spaniards* appeared to have some design.

Whilst this was a passing, the King of *Sweden* had been received, as Mediator, by all hands, to determine this great difference. Accordingly they were assembled at *Cologne*, whither they were from all Parts repaired. But as the Preliminaries are long upon such occasions as these, there was no likelihood as yet that things would be accommodated so soon. In the mean time your Fleet, which was continually in conjunction with that of the *English*, fought the *Dutch Fleet* three times, during this Campaign. And it was ^{not} far from losing in these Rencontres the Reputation which

which it had acquired the year before, that they increased it still more by the Fastness which they manifested, in all those three fights. There was nothing however that was Decisive, on one side or the other : and as your Conquests gave a jealousy to your Allies, as well as to your Enemies, the *English* thought of abandoning you.

You did in the mean time every thing that you could, in kindness, to preserve their Alliance. You presented withal a Wife, as from your hand, to the Duke of *Tork*; who was the Presumptive heir of that Crown. And that Prince had so many Mistresses in five or six Months time, that it was said, that he would marry all the Earth. The first which he had was *Mademoiselle d'Elbeuf*. For which purpose he sent to *Paris* the Earl of *Peterborough* : who conferred about it with me, according to the Orders which I received from your Majesty. I had a great inclination that this affair should succeed ; because of the esteem which I had for that Princess. But the Earl of *Sunderland* the Ambassador of *England* being fallen out with *Peterborough*, about the terms which they stood upon with one another, their misunderstanding was the cause that it broke off.

The Princess *Marianna* of *Wuttemberg* was the next upon the List, after her : and the thing was pushed on so far, that your Majesty signed the Contract for it with the Commissioners, which that Prince had deputed for that purpose. So I had orders to write to the Dutchess of *Wuttemberg*, to come to assist at her daughters Esponsals : but in the time that it was imagined that the thing could not fail, it vanished through the slan-

ders which were cast upon that Princess, to whom her Enemies attributed certain faults which I could never perceive in her. It was supposed, that the Original of them came from a person of a very small figure, whom she had disoblighd. So true is it, that the least Enemy is capable of doing hurt upon occasion. And the remedy, that one finds for this, is, never to make to ones self any such, at least purposely. In the mean time it is what Abundance of great Princes take no care of: and the itch that they have to talk and to detract, occasions them sometimes to let loose words, which they would be willing afterwards to redeem with a great many things. But the mischief is Done; and they do not think of applying the remedy to it, but when it is too late. Indeed nothing can repair a stroke of the Tongue. It is an offence which a Man of Spirit resents to his death. Insomuch that one must be touched by God very sensibly, not to desire to be revenged for it. But *God be thanked*, it is a Vice which one cannot impute to your Majesty. For besides that you speak little, you never speak but to the purpose: and without meddling in any manner with your Neighbour. I must say it also to your honour, that you do not know what it is to be in a Passion. It is now almost forty years, that I have been at Court; and twenty five, that I have had the honour to come very near to you: And yet I can justly swear, I have never seen you but one single time in a little Emotion. Which was then, when Monsieur de Werthamont, against whom there had been a judgment just then pass'd, which was very disagreeable to you, because of his violences and unjustices, dared to present himself

himself before you. I observed that you Colour'd with anger; and that the Tone in which you spoke to tell him, that he was not to shew himself at Court, was not the same in which you use ordinarily to express your other Commands.

The Match with the Princess *Marianna* having failed, for the reason which I have now mentioned, that of *Mademoiselle de Crequi*, who hath married since the Duke *de la Tremouille*, was put in Agitation. The Name which her Father had to be very rich, and to have thriven very well in his Embassage to *Rome*, where others nevertheless ruine themselves, drew upon him that honour. But the Duke and the Dutchess of *Crequi*, not being able to perswade themselves to give with her all that, which it was convenient to do to procure for her so advantageous a Marriage, they missed of an opportunity, which others would have purchased at the price of all their blood.

The Duke of York settled after this upon the Princess of *Modena*: to whom the Cardinal her Uncle had left twelve hundred thousand *Frank*s, which I had in my hands: and there being no difficulty found to this Affair, it was concluded to the satisfaction of the one and the other.

In the mean time, the Instruction which a Prince is to draw from this that I have said, is, to be always so Good a Husband, as that the want of mony may never oblige him to do a thing, which is unworthy of his birth. For in short, although *Mademoiselle de Crequi* was a Lady of Quality, yet she was not a suitable Match for a Prince, who was upon the point of filling the Throne of *England*. I know however, without going very far up into the History of that Na-

tion, that Henry the 8th married two Wives, who were not of the best Families, and who withal were not perhaps so very Good. But there is a difference betwixt what is done out of love, and what is done out of a premeditated design, and after a mature deliberation. The *Species* of the things is quite different: and although that there is a fault both in the one and the other, one may conceive however, that it is the greatest there, where things are done purely voluntary, than where one is not any longer the master of ones self.

Since I am here upon the subject of Marriage, I must not go away from it, without giving an account first to your Majesty, of a thing for which I have sometime commended my self. I have told you, that I had refused a considerable match for my Son; because I found, that you would not perhaps be pleased with it. It was that of *Mademoiselle de Bournonville*, who is at present the Dutcheß of *Noailles*. Her Father caused it to be proposed to me; and he ordered it to be told me at the same time, that he would bind it with such advantageous conditions for my Son, that I should have reason to be satisfied with it. As he did me a great deal of honour, I received the proposition from him as I ought. But when he came to explain himself, he desired that I should employ my endeavours to get him to be reestablished in the government of *Paris*: which your Majesty had taken from him, because that he had too strict a friendship with *Monsieur Fouquet*; and that besides he made his Court so ill, that he was some whole Months at a house, which he had bought by the Gates of *Paris*, without coming to

to pay his Respects to you. All the while he diverted himself there, as much as ever he could. Yet to make your Majesty believe, that if he did not wait upon you, it was but upon just reasons, he Bemoaned himself to those who came to see him, and who might tell it to you again, that he had those continual Vapours, as obliged him not to stir out of his house. This pretence destroyed it self in the mean time, by the life which he lived there; which was altogether in feastings and rejoycings. Which being reported to your Majesty, you thought you ought to use him, as I was saying that you had done. However it was, I thanked him very civilly for the honour which he had intended to do me; and I chose rather to deprive my self of the advantage, which was to redound to me from so great an Alliance, than to purchase it at the hazard of displeasing your Majesty.

The Great Affairs which you had to get clear of, with a multitude of envious persons, who were risen up against you, did not hinder you from concurring to the repose of *Italy*; which was upon the point to be disturbed by the difference, that was broke out, betwixt the Duke of *Savoy* and the Republick of *Genova*. You interposed your Authority there; and the two Parties having accepted of your Mediation, you settled them in a good understanding again.

You went to work, all a new, in the mean time in *Poland*: where the new King was dead without Issue, after having married the Sister of the Emperor. The Prince of *Lorain* had been in love with her before; and the report was, that if his Imperial Majesty had consulted that Princess

in it, she would have preferred him, quite stript as he was of his Estates, before the Crown which the New King set upon her head. However it was, the good will which she had for him render'd his Party so powerful in that Kingdom, that it was believed, that he alone would be the person to fill the Throne. The little satisfaction besides which the *Polonnesse* had had in the Deceased, seem'd to oblige them to put again into force the law, in virtue whereof they had so many times been without choosing themselves a Sovereign out of their own Nation. Your Majesty seem'd withal to approve, that they should revive it, by the care which you took to get them to prefer the eldest Son of the Duke of *Newburgh*, before the Prince of *Lorain*. In the other Election, you had recommended the Father, which the same Prince of *Lorain* had, for a Competitor, and the Prince of *Conde*. But as that Nation had found fault with his age, which was then already well-advanced, that fault, which would have appeared to them still greater now at this time than in the other, was the reason that your Majesty, to accommodate yourself to their humour, propos'd to them the Son in the place of the Father. You disburs'd withal a great deal of money to make the thing to succeed: Because you laid it extreemly to heart, upon the account of the consequences which were of consideration in the present conjuncture. But was there a reason for you to fear Then, that it would turn ill for you, when your Ambassador by his *adresse* had brought that Nation again to resolve to prefer one of its own Subjects to the Princes who were propos'd to them? They Elected

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John Zobiesky, the Grand Marechal of *Poland*; which was very displeasing to your Enemies, who imagined, that he would enter into the Interests of your Majesty; because he had married a *French Woman*, who was the daughter of the Marquis d'*Arquyen*, the Captain of the hundred *Swiss* to your Majesty.

You would have had a want of this Assistance, to repress the enterprises of the *House of Austria*; who fancied, that you could never get out to your honour of the War, which you had taken into hand. Possessed with which Opinion, she did two things, which decryed her very much, amongst such as were free from that Passion with which she was Animated. The one was, her ordering Prince *William* of *Furstemburgh*, the Abbot of *Stavelo* and *Plenipotentiary* of the Elector of *Cologne*, to be forcibly carried away out of *Cologne*; who in that quality was to be secure from such an Insult, except one intends to violate the law of Nations: The other, the seizing in like manner by force upon fifty thousand Crowns, which your Majesty had in that City, and which ought to have been Sacred to them for the same reason. But as she was willing to put an Obstacle to the Peace, and that she found none stronger than this, she trampled upon all sort of Consideration.

Prince *William* was at first conducted to *Bonne*: where he had a conversation of ten whole hours with the Marquis of *Grana*, who was the Governor of it. This Marquis reproached him, that, being born a *German*, he was very much to be blamed to betray his Country; which he had done in several conjunctures, that he cited to him precisely. He would not agree with him as to that. But only that he was very much wedded

to the service of your Majesty, after having endeavoured many times before to merit the Favour of the *Emperor*, who had never been pleased to grant it to him. From *Bonne* he was conducted to *Newstadt*, where the *Emperor* resolved to have him to be put to death in prison, after he had secretly got a sentence to be passed against him, at which some few persons had assisted, and whereby he was condemned to lose his head. But your Majesty, who to so many fine qualities which you have the share of, joyns that of knowing how to penetrate as far as into the Cabinets of your Enemies, found a means to make the *Nuncio* of the *Pope* to stir in it. Who represented to the *Emperor*, that it did not belong to him to put an *Ecclesiastick* so to death. And as he is a Prince that is easie to take a scruple into his head, he stopt upon that, and commanded the Prisoner to be removed unto another Prison.

Your Majesty preferred your Complaints to the Court of *Vienna* of the Violence, which had been acted in the person of that Prince; and demanded at the same time a restitution of the fifty thousand Crowns, which had been taken from you. But not having had any more satisfaction upon the one than the other, you recalled your Ambassadors, who had been all the while at *Cologne*: and the other Princes did the same; seeing, that there was no more security for them, than for Prince *William*, after that which had happened to him.

In the mean time, the way to have the Law on one's side being to render one self the strongest, your Enemies used such great efforts to put a great number of Troops on foot, that very
many

many persons imagined, that your Majesty would never stand against them. The Bishop of *Munster* was so perswaded of this, that he quitted your side : and the Elector of *Cologne* would have done as much at the same time, if the Bishop of *Stratsburgh* had not kept him in Heart. But in the time when they believed you were ready to sink under the weight of so many Enemies, you went to Attack the *Franche Comte*, to which you had offered a *Neutrality*. As the *Swiss*, who had had a hand in that Negotiation, were vexed against the *Spaniards* for this, that they had refused them, they guarded their Frontiers, to the end that their Allies should not be able to succour them. Your Majesty, who made this Conquest in person, let the World see upon this occasion, things, which had never as yet been seen at any Attack of a place. You caused the Cannon to be hoisted up over the Mountains, whither a man had a difficulty to climb : and it was by this means, that you made yourself the Master of *Besanzon*, which your Enemies did believe was impregnable.

The Conquest of this Province added a new Force to your Majesty ; who had occasion enough for it, in the condition in which you were. Because that they had also drawn away from you the King of *England* ; who had made his peace with the *Hollanders*, by a kind of a violence which his subjects put upon him : who had still a greater jealousy of your Conquests than others. He left with you however the Troops, which he had in your service, and which consisted in some Regiments ; the most considerable whereof was that, which they called the *Royal Regiment of England*,
whose

whose Colonel was the Duke of *Monmouth*. The officers amongst them were Insolent enough. So that there was one of them, who ill-treated in words a Groom of the Marquis of *Louvois*, as he crossed their Camp to take the shortest way. Your Minister, who pretended that one should carry his respect down as far as to his Liveries, ordered that Officer to be laid under an Arrest. Upon which the others mutinied: And as he had not the same Inspection over those, as over your Troops, he was obliged to order him to be released again. This gave some mortification to him: To him, who is extremely *Glorieux*. But a Minister, and even any other person of a greater or a lesser consideration does unhand-somely to take the part so of a *Valet*, against a Man of Honour; unless it is, that he knows, that one hath had a design to aim it at himself, when one abused the other. This Conduct is very far different from the *flegm* of one of your Captains: who having seen his Coachman, who drove him, beaten before his face, said to him who had beaten him, and was come to him the next day to make his excuse for it, because he did not know who he was; That he was very much obliged, and that it would be to his advantage if those that he had with him to wait upon him in his family had but as good a hand with them; because people would then fear them, more than they do.

The *Franche Comté* being thus reduced to your Obedience, you resolved to have it to be also better fortified than it was. So the *Marquis* of *Louvois* cast his eyes upon an Engineer, called *Combes*: an experienc'd and an understanding man,

man, and one who had given a proof of his Capacity in the Works which had been done in *Holland*, whereof he had had the Conduct. He would reserve however from him the Fortifications of *Besanzon*, which he designed for Monsieur *de Vauban*: Which *Combes* not being satisfied at, he took the liberty to remonstrate to him, That having been Engineer in Chief to *Holland*, it was a kind of an affront to him to come to shares with another in a Province, which was much less considerable. But as that Minister is framed in such a manner, that he will have one to bend under him without replying again, he sent him to the *Bastile*; where he was treated so cruelly that they left him three whole days in a Chamber, without giving him a Bed. This man, who did not think of meriting any thing like this, took it so very much to him, that it *struck* to his heart. So the Marquis of *Louvois* being come to see him eleven days after, and having asked him if he should not be more wise for the time to come, he answer'd him; That it was what he did not think upon any more now; But rather to render an account to *God* of his actions; the condition in which he had laid him being to send him unto another World in a little time. And indeed, although that Minister ordered him to be discharged the same hour, he died in three days after. Which is what ought to show us, that one is not to make use always of all one's Authority: especially with relation to men of Spirit; and who not refusing to obey, but because they believe that their Honour is concerned, deserve rather that one should advertise them like a good friend of the fault which they may therein do, than to correct them for it with so much rigour. And

And yet the great Successes of your Majesty emboldned him to ask of you every day new favours. He obtained of you, that I should furnish him every year with forty Millions for the Funds of the War, whereof he should not return an Account but to you alone. Now this Account is given by him upon a Sheet of Paper, which is a pretty hard thing however to answer for so great a Sum. And I believe withal, that it hath not a little served him to help him to Amass those prodigious Riches which he hath, and which make it to be said of him with reason, that his fortune surpasses that of a great many Sovereigns. I imagine likewise, that all those *Ordinances* which he made during the course of this War, and whereby he impoverished all your Officers under specious pretences, turned more to his own profit, than to that of your Majesty. *Because* I know, that you gratified him for all these good Incomes; which were a sort of a Fine, that was so little agreeable to a multitude of good Officers, that many of them quitted the Service for it.

This did not nevertheless satisfy his *Avidité*, no more than the *Foreign Posts* which your Majesty had gratified him with; and which he made to amount to an exorbitant Sum, by unheard-of Taxes upon Letters: the least of which payed quite at least double to what it had used to pay in the time of *Monsieur de Nouveau*. He begged besides the *Surintendance* of the *Hackney-Horses*, upon which he laid a Tax. Not contented with that Revenue, he obtained Priviledges for such as should have those Horses: in consequence whereof, there were those who gave him each as much as a hundred Crowns. Not that they should
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make that profit in letting their Horses to Hire ; but because that this exempted them from the Soldiers, who were such a very great charge to them, that they found that by this way they had however a good bargain of it.

In fine, his favour came to that height, that he thought that he had Power to do every thing so, as that no body should dare to offer to find fault with it. And indeed, every one to emulation endeavoured to pay him their respects : and as *Graces* did no more glide, but through his Chancel, it is impossible to express the *Prostitution*, which the greatest persons of your Kingdom made of themselves before him. Yet I was however firm enough not to go to the Adoration of him with the others : and finding that the forty Millions which your Majesty had ordered me to furnish him with, was an infinite burden to your People, whom it was necessary to overcharge to provide for that expence, and for all the others which were to be made on the other hand ; I set my self to examine, upon what it was that he should lay out so great a Sum. But I found, with the first cast of an eye, that there was an Abuse in it, which was very considerable ; which was, that it amounted only to fifteen or sixteen hundred thousand Crowns every year. I mean the Account of the *Routes*, which was passed in 1673, and 1674 : and wherein there was that excess, that one needed no more than to be a Lackey of that Minister, to have five or six of them. There were Offices also established at *Paris*, as if it were for the proper affairs of your Majesty, where one payed upon sight. So that if this had continued any long time, it would have been convenient

ent presently to augment the forty Millions, as not being a Sum sufficient for so great a disorder. Your Majesty hearkened to me, upon the Remonstrances which I made to you of this : and having thought it convenient to nominate Commissioners to take the cognizance thereof, the most criminal persons fled for it. So that those, who were Arrested, not being able to speak so pertinently to it as the others, they were ordered to be let out of Prison, after having paid the Sum which they had been taxed to.

This affair was of a consequence great enough to give a shock to the fortune of that Minister. But the assistance which your Majesty received from him for the Particular of the War, upon which he was very diligent, giving you an occasion to hearken to him in his own Justification, he saved himself at the expence of the Officers, by throwing every thing that had been done upon them. To see, how there are some conjunctures which are happy, and which make things to be forgotten, that one would punish with severity at another time ! And to see also, how persons of great favour are always found innocent, whilst others who are much less in fault are quite crushed ! But this is a misfortune which does not reign at this day ; though that other abuse hath a *mean* with it of continuing still a long time, before it finds its remedy.

The defection of the *Elektor Palatine*, and of the Bishop of *Munster*, obliged your Majesty to abandon all the Conquests which you had made in *Holland*, excepting *Grave* and *Maestricht*. You formed out of all the Garisons, which you had there, a good Body of Men : which was what the Prince

Prince had advised you to, sometime before already. But the Marquis of *Louvois* had always opposed it. In the mean time, the Viscount of *Turenne*, who had lock'd up the Passes of the County of *Montbelliard*, by which the Duke of *Lorain* pretended to succour the County of *Burgundy*, not having any more to do on that side, he returned into *Germany*, where he took *Germesheim* and razed it. By this means he deprived the *Elect̃or Palatine* of the Hopes which he had, that that Place would streighten the Garison of *Philipsbourg*, which desolated his Estates. He set out after that towards the *Rhine*; which he passed, to go to fight the Imperial Troops, which had been augmented by those of the Duke of *Lorain* and the Bishop of *Munster*. He found them posted so advantageously, that it was a Risque to undertake to force them. Nevertheless considering that besides it was a sort of an affront for him to be come so far, and to recoyl, there was also another inconvenience in it, which was, that if he tarried longer, the Enemy would be quickly stronger than he, by reason that in a little time they were to be joyned by the Duke of *Bourbonville*; considering, I say, that on every side that he could turn himself to, there were still difficulties to surmount, he chose the Part that was the most Honourable, which was to fight them. And here it must be agreed, that it is with reason, that one Avows, that it is *only God who gives the Victory in Battles*. Because without him, it was impossible, that this General should get out of this affair with honour. He was necessarily to force, before all things, the little Town of *St. Seim*.

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where

where the Enemy had thrown their infantry. There was no going thither, but by the *defiles*, which were guarded by their Dragoons. But he surmounted so easily all those difficulties, that allowing that his Troops had been the best in *Europe*, yet they could not possibly do this themselves, if *God* had not fought for him. He drove away those Dragoons, and took the Town: and having marched afterwards against the Cavalry, to which he was to come again through *defiles*, he beat them, and struck such a fright into those who were escaped, that they did not believe themselves in safety, until they had even passed the *Neckar*.

This Victory cost you dear however; and you lost in that fight a number of good officers, who would have been still very useful to you. Indeed you had affairs upon you on so many sides, that it required such a head as yours, to manage them. The Count *de Souches*, who commanded the Principal Forces of the *Imperialists*, enter'd into *Flanders*: where he joyned himself to the Prince of *Orange*, whose army consisted of sixty thousand men. That, which continued in *Germany*, became likewise very strong in a little time, by the succours which came to it from all Parts: Inso-much that it was not sensible of the loss, which it had suffered, longer. On the other hand it was fit for you to provide for the safety of *Roussillon*: where the *Spaniards* made a meen, as if they would go upon some enterprize. But that which embarrassed you the most, was this; That the *Hollanders*, who were become Masters of the Sea by the defection

defection of the King of *England*, threatned the Coasts of *Normandy* and *Bretagne*: where the consternation was so great, that they cryed that all was lost. At last, after having roved up and down on one side and the other, they attempted to surprize *Belle-Isle*, where they received some check. This obliged them to retire from thence; and throwing themselves upon the Island of *Noirmousteir*, they pillaged it, and exacted some Sums of money of the houses, which were the best accommodated, by threatning to burn them, if they did not Pay them to their satisfaction. And thus that great *Armement*, which promised themselves that they should swallow up your Kingdom, making an end of what they did with so small a matter, they went to seek a better fortune in *America*: where they fancied, that the great affairs which you had upon your hands might have kept you from providing for things there. But there, they having besieged *St. Thomas* found so great a resistance made to them, that it held them as long as to the latter part of the Autumn: So that the season not being then proper to keep the Sea in, they were obliged to raise the siege.

In the mean time, the Viscount of *Turenne*, after having gained the battle of *St. Seim*, came to joyn again on this side of the *Rhine* the Part of his Army, which he had left there to enable him to make the more speed. He understood there, that the Enemy was to receive a new succour: which obliged him to repass that river, to go to fight them a second time, before that they should be so strong, that he durst not undertake

it. They retreated to the other side of the *Mayn*, and under the Cannon of *Franckfort*: but this General following them very close, charged their Rear at the Passage of that river, where they lost nigh eight hundred men. However, not venturing to undertake to go to dislodge them, where they were, he returned from whence he came, and there continued to ruine the Country of the *Eleſtor Palatine*: who was scandalized at it, and eſpecially at a fire which had been put to ſome Villages, whereof however the Viſcount of *Turenne* was innocent. For it had really been done by the Soldiers, who revenged themſelves by that means of the Peaſants, who had maſſacred with a great deal of barbarity ſome of their Comrades.

However it was, his Paſſion hindring him from conſidering of this Account of it, that Eleſtor made a Challenge in form to your General; and ſent to ſignifie it to him by a Trumpet. But He was more wiſe than to take him at his word; and made him Answer, That having the honour to command the Army of your Maſteſty, he could do nothing in it without receiving your orders: That as to the Complaints which he made againſt him, they were very ill founded; becauſe if his ſubjects had abſtained from the Cruelties which they had exerciſed upon the Soldiers of your Maſteſty, they would never have dreamt of burning of their houſes: That furthermore he would not reſuſe the honour which he did him to be willing to fight with him; provided that it was each at the head of an Army, and that in doing it, he did a ſervice to your Maſteſty.

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The *Imperialists* having continued long enough under the Cannon of *Franckfort* for the purpose of strengthening themselves with the succours, which were sent to them on the part of several Princes of the Empire; the Viscount of *Turenne* found their forces so superior to his, that he took the way to intrench himself betwixt *Landau* and *Weissembourg*. As they saw that he retired, they desired to push him in their turn; and drew nigh for that purpose to *Mayence*, where they expected to pass the *Rhine*. But the Elector of that name, with whom your Majesty had taken your Measures, not being willing to do as the Bishop of *Wurtzburgh* did, Prayed them, that they would go to seek a Passage elsewhere.

The Army of the Prince of *Orange* continued incamped all this time; and your Majesty was surprized at it, the first of any; because you could not comprehend, why he should lye so without doing any thing with Forces which were so formidable. The Prince of *Conde* observed him: and as he was a great deal the weakest, he judged it convenient to intrench himself, to the end not to give battle till when he should find an occasion for it. So the Prince of *Orange* seeing all your Troops employed either to make head to him, or to observe the *Imperialists*, whose Army was to be shortly sixty thousand men by the conjunction of the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who was upon the march; they besieged *Grave* under the conduct of *Rabenhaut*; an Officer who had acquired some reputation against the Bishop of *Munster*, in the time that that Prelate was on your side.

The Count of *Chamilly*, a younger Brother to him that I have spoken of above, was in the place; and defended it so well, that that General had a time to *spend* himself before it. He made continual sallies upon him: Insomuch that at the end of three months, *Rabenhaut* was nigh as much advanced as he was the first day, although he had promised, that he would give a good Account of it in three Weeks.

In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange* formed a design of entering into *France*. He found that the thing was easier, than to make a siege in the sight of your Army, who would not have suffered it without blows. So being upon his march for the execution of his Design, the Prince of *Conde* followed him, and charged his Rear. He did it so *Home*, that he killed above three thousand men, made as many Prisoners, took his Baggage, and some pieces of Cannon, before he knew where he was. But the Country which was all covered with Hedges, and cut up and down with waters, offering him a succour which he could not have found in a plain field, he threw his infantry there; who by the favour of those advantageous Posts hinder'd the Foot of your Majesty from advancing further. The eagerness always which the Prince of *Conde* had with him, carrying him on to undertake things, which would have appeared impossible to another, he made a great many men to be killed there; and he lost there himself three horses under him, he endeavoured so much by his example to give Heat to the Action. But the great resistance of
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the Enemy having render'd his efforts unprofitable, the Night which came in separated the Combatants, who attributed each to themselves the Victory. Yet this was with but little appearance of Truth on the part of the Enemy. For that which makes a Victory is, to remain the Master of the field of battle, to have the spoils of the Enemy, to take Prisoners of them, and a thousand such things, which it is needless to specify all at large. Now all this was round on the side of your Majesty, and nothing at all of it on theirs: unless that they might boast, that the Prince of *Conde* had lost as many men as they, and perhaps a greater number of Officers.

However it is, the end of this fight was not answerable to the beginning; which could not be more Glorious than it was for your General. But the eagerness which he had to gain All, made him lose more than he thought of. And until then, one could not say, whether he or the Viscount of *Turenne* understood the most, in the Art of War. There were even those, who were prepossessed in his favour, and who adjudged the Prize to him. But the one and the other began now to change their opinion, and to give it to his Rival.

This Battle served nevertheless to *split* the design of the Prince of *Orange*; who thought no more of passing into *France*. The Marquis of *Louvois*, who did not love the Prince of *Conde*, was Ravished at this accident; which gave him a means to do him ill offices to your Majesty.

And indeed the Prince hath but little served since that Campaigne ; and I believe also, that he would not have been again at all at the head of any army, but for the death of the Viscount of *Turenne*, which happen'd the Campaigne following, and which begat a kind of a necessity to put a General of reputation in his Place.

If that Marquis understood so, how to do so much mischief to his Enemies, he understood as well, in recompence for that, how to recover out of the greatest danger those, who were so happy as to have his Protection. He shew it very evidently to Monsieur *le Bret*, the Lieutenant-General of your Army in *Catalonia* : whose imprudence accompanied with a spirit of Vanity had lead him to commit a fault, which called for an exemplary Punishment.

Your Majesty had sent him into that Country some time ago ; and had left him there in the years precedent, with the command in chief of your army : Because that there did not appear no Enemy as yet there, as was considerable. But the *Spaniards* having sent thither the Duke of *St. Germain*, who was a General of reputation, with a part of their old Troops, you thought it convenient to oppose the Count of *Schomberg* to him ; who was as good as he, and with whom he had many times come to blows, in the time that they were both of them in *Portugal*. Now this was Mortifying to a man, so Vain, as was Monsieur *le Bret* : who by this means was no more

more than a Lieutenant-General. And as he bore it impatiently, he did an Act of his own head, for which there was only the Marquis of *Louvois* who could possibly save him. The Enemy after having taken *Bellegarde*, which opened them an entrance into *Rouffillon*, encamped within the shot of the Cannon of your Army: which being displeasing to *Monsieur le Bret*, he gave them battle, whilst his General was yet in bed, and without attending his orders. But he was as well *ibressed*, as nothing could be more: and if the Count of *Scomberg*, who gat up, much amazed at his Confidence, had not repaired his fault by his good Conduct, the Army of your Majesty had been totally routed. However your Horse, which he had engaged amongst the waters, without having them to be observed first, was cut to pieces there: and *la Rabliere*, who Commanded them, having been taken Prisoner, with some other officers of consideration, that which came back of them would not have been in a condition in all the Campagne to make any resistance, if the affairs which *Popped* up upon the Enemy from other parts had not obliged them to repass into *Catalonia*.

The City of *Messina*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, having complained this long time of the exaction of their *Viceroy*s, whereof they had informed the Council of *Spain* without receiving from thence any satisfaction, they shook off the Yoke from them, one Holy-day; and after being possessed of the Port and of one of the Principal Forts of the City, they set themselves

selves to cry out, *Liberty*. At that word, which tickles the Ears of the Populace, who imagine often against all sort of reason that it is a great advantage to change the *Master*, there were above sixty thousand men who took up Arms. In the mean time, the wiser Part considering, that it was impossible for them to stand against their Sovereign long, if they were not sustained by a Potentate, who was able to maintain them, they debated upon this; which of the two would be the most expedient for them, either to address themselves to your Majesty, or to have recourse to the Turk? They did not take up any long time in ballancing the choice that they were to make: and those who had a little care of their Religion having made it appear to the others, that by all means it would be much the most Glorious for them to implore the succour of your Majesty, they sent their Deputies to you to ask your Protection.

The offers, which they made to you, were; that they gave themselves to you, upon condition, that you would treat them better than the *Spaniards* had done. You assembled hereupon your Council: who finding that it was for your advantage to serve your self of this opportunity, which would employ the forces of the *Spaniards* on that side, concluded to assure those Deputies, that you would assist them with all your power. But yet the Opinion was, that you were not to accept of the Sovereignty, which they did offer to you: and that it was better to endeavour to bring that State into a Common-wealth.

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You sent them home with these fine words, which were followed at the same time with a performance of them: For you gave order to the Marquis de Valavoir, to take some of your Vessels to Guard a Convoy which they had a great occasion of, and which arrived with them very seasonably, to deliver them out of the misery which they began to suffer. For it is not a little Enterprize, That of revolting against one's Sovereign: and it is followed ordinarily with so many inconveniences, that though we should not be obliged by our Birth and by an indispensable Duty to be faithful to him, yet our own interest should be sufficient of it self to induce us to it. But if the subject is thus under an obligation of a perfect Fidelity towards the Sovereign, the Sovereign on his side ought not to treat him like a Slave: He must not load him, but in proportion to the necessities of the State. Otherwise either he sinks under the weight, which is laid upon him, or or he *kicks against the spur*: just as it is with those Horses, which one would tame all of a sudden, without accustoming them insensibly to Correction.

The revolt of *Messina* hindred that the Enemy could not make an advantage of the Victory, which they had gained in *Roussillon*: and having been obliged to withdraw themselves out of that Province, to run to the part which was the most streightned, their absence gave you a means the next year to drive them out of it for altogether, by retaking the Castle of *Bellegarde*.

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The disgrace, which had happened in that Country to your Troops, was so largely recompensed by the happy Attendances which waited upon your Arms this Campagne in *Germany* and *Flanders*, that you had all the reason to be consoled for it. They had already triumphed twice, under the Viscount of *Turenne*; and the Battel of *Senef*, which the Prince of *Conde* had fought, did not forbear however to produce a good effect, although your Majesty lost there a multitude of good men. But one thing which I had almost forgot to speak of, and which was yet very much to your advantage, is; That the Baggage of the Count *de Monterey*, the Governour of the *Spanish Low-Countries* having been taken there, you found some Papers of his, which informed you of a Conspiracy, which was acting within your Kingdom, to deliver up to him some Places upon the Coasts of *Normandy*. At least, They made mention of it. But for my part, I cannot believe, that it was a real Conspiracy: and the little Credit which he had who was the *Head* of it, as well as all those of his Accomplices, gives me occasion to imagine, that it was much rather a *Lure* which he made use of to get Money out of the *Spaniards*: He, who was not worth a *Sols*, and who was quite over head and ears in Debt.

This Chief was; the *Chevalier de Rohan*: Who was perfectly well made as to his Person, but of so wretched a Conduct, that he had lost himself with your Majesty; who had had formerly a great deal of goodness for him. He

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was ill in like manner with all his near Relations, and even with his own Mother; who had complained not long before to your Majesty, that he had Robbed her. Since which, he had offered to her again several other sad usages. Inso-much that she was every day upon the point of coming to beg the favour of you, to send him to the *Bastile*. To compleat his imprudence, he had parted with his Office of *Grand Veneur*, which had assisted him to live. So that not knowing any longer, whither to turn himself, he did that, that I have mentioned but now.

The business was of a sufficient consequence to your Majesty, not to neglect it. For although you should have been verily convinced, that he would not have done it, but with the intention as I have explained here, yet it was convenient by his punishment to stop the course of this disorder, which was of an ill example for your people. However it is, your Majesty having given command, that they should take him up, he was carried to the *Bastile*; whilst the *Major* of your Guards went to *Rouen*, to seize there upon one of his Accomplices, called *Latreumont*. He surprized him in his Bed; and it was wholly in his power then to bring him bound, hand and foot, into Prison. But the acquaintance which he had with him having made him to relax of the Duty of his Office, he gave him the permission to go into his Closet: where he no sooner was, but he Armed himself with two Pistols; one of which he fired
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upon the Major, and missed him. One of your Guards, who was commanded with him, discharged at the same time a Carabine into *Lautreaumont's* Body. Which your Majesty was very sorry for. Because he dying of it the next moment, you could not be informed of a number of things, which you hoped to know of, by his Confession. For it was he, who was charged with all the Intrigue; and who had sent into *Flanders* a certain School-master, who was a stranger, and who had settled himself in the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*. This School-master would have made his escape. But you caused him to be taken up, together with the *Marchioness de Villars*, and the *Chevalier de Preaux*.

If the *Chevalier de Rohan* had understood what had passed, he would have taken good care, how he had confessed any thing: Because there was no body but *Lautreaumont*, who had been killed at *Rouen*, who knew that he was in the Conspiracy. Therefore when they askt the School-master about him, he said, That he knew nothing of him; and that he had only acted in the Name of the Defunct. The *Marchioness de Villars*, and the *Chevalier de Preaux*, knew not any thing of him neither. But his Examiner having turn'd and winded him ingeniously, he brought him to confess what there was no one but himself who could tell to him, under a promise which he made him, that your Majesty should grant him his Pardon. In the mean time, as you had given him no Orders for that, you did not think it convenient

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nient to make good his Word. So the *Chevalier de Rohan* was condemned to have his Head cut off: and perceiving of himself some days before, that his business did not go well; because they had taken from him a Knife, which they had permitted him to have till then, whilst he was at Table; he called for Father *Bourdaloue*, the Jesuit, to take his Confession.

It had been two and twenty years, that he had not frequented the Sacraments: and yet he changed so mightily all on a sudden, that one could not have believed, that it was He. He made several Acts of Contrition, of Humility, and of Resignation to the Will of God: so that when the Executioner came to bind him, and that he had asked him, if he would have him to take a Ribon to do it with off of his *Pantaleons*; he answered him, that he should take a Cord; and that he, who was so great a Sinner, could not be treated too rigorously. He made divers other Acts of Humiliation, which drew tears from the Eyes of the Spectators: and being come out of the *Bastile* to go to the place of Execution, which was before it, he stood up with a Courage, which begat still more compassion for the sad estate whereunto he was reduced. He asked of Father *Bourdaloue*, before he mounted up the Scaffold, whether care had been taken to console his Mother; of whom he had begged pardon for all that he had done to her, by a Letter, which was extreamly moving. He spoke likewise a word to the Marchioness *de Villars*, who

who was to suffer the same Death, as well as the *Chevalier de Preaux*: and having stretched out his Neck to the Executioner, he brought down his Head at one blow.

His Body was carried to *St. Paul* in a Mourning Coach; where it was in a third hand, till such time, as it was removed to the Abbey of *Jouars*, where he had desired to be Buried. The Marchioness *de Villars*, and the *Chevalier de Preaux*, were Executed afterwards: and after them, the School-master, who was Hanged. This is a fine Lesson for an infinite number of persons, who spend their fortunes very ill; and not knowing afterwards what to do, are so very much abandoned by God, that they betake themselves to wicked courses! A fine Lesson also for those, who live in so great a Libertinage, that it seems as if they acknowledged nothing above them! But there comes a time, when God lets them very plainly see, that he is their Master, when he permits them to fall into the hands of Justice. Which brings them to reflect with themselves, only it is a little late, how much they have been in the wrong to estrange themselves from him: and Happy they still, if he gives them the same Grace, as he did to him, whom I have been speaking of now here!

This business having interrupted the course of those of *Flanders* and *Germany*, I shall tell your Majesty, that the Prince of *Orange* being gone to Besiege *Oudenarde*, the Prince of *Conde* marched

marched to the Succour of that place: and the Imperialists not assisting the Prince of Orange in it, as they ought, he was obliged to raise the Siege. After which he separated himself from the Count de Souches; with whom he was so dissatisfied, that he complained to the Emperor, that the affairs of the Campagne would have succeeded better without him. The Emperor, to content him, was some time before he would see that General. But he found a means in the end to justify himself, and to get again into favour.

The Siege of *Grave* had all along lasted till then; and still it did not appear to be in a readiness to be ended, having a great many Outworks yet, which maintained themselves. Besides that the Season, which began to grow troublesome, left them but little hopes of reducing a Garrison, which without other Succour, than that of its own Forces, had already killed them a vast number of men. Indeed *Rabenant* had had always the misfortune to be beaten, in the Sallies which the Count of *Chamilly* made upon him. But that which was the most Mortifying to him, was, that one of your Collonels, who was near threescore and ten years old, was come purposely from *Maestricht*, to rob him of the principal fruit, which he proposed to himself by that Conquest. Your Majesty, when you abandoned *Holland*, had taken with you away a great deal of Money from thence: and the Towns, which were not able to pay you all that you

did demand, had offered you Hostages for the security, that they would pay the Remainder in the time, upon which they were agreed with you.

These Hostages had been conducted to *Grave*, as to a place, where they would be in safety. But *Rabenhaut* having besieged it, he reckoned, that in taking it he should save *Holland* the Sum, which they were as yet in debt for, and which mounted to a very great heighth. His Pretension seemed withal to be well founded: Because that you could not give succour to that place, which was separated from your own by *Roermond* and *Venlo*, which belonged to the *Spaniards*. In the mean time *de Melin*, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, being, as I have said, gone purposely from *Maestricht*, with the design to bring off those Hostages; he crossed the Camp of *Rabenhaut*, and getting into the Town, he took them and conducted them to the Place of his own Garison, by the same way that he came.

This made that General lose a little of his reputation: So that the Prince of *Orange* not regarding him any longer, as before he had done, he concluded, that if he was resolved to have *Grave*, he must not rely upon him for it. He went thither himself, accompanied with some Troops, which he had brought back out of *Flanders*; and he made himself the Master of it.

Grave

Grave being thus fallen into the hands of that Prince, the Campaigne ended on that side ; whilst it continued in *Germany* with a great deal of Warmth. The Great forces which your Enemies threw into *Alsacia*, astonish'd a little your Minister ; who believed so verily, that that Province could not save it self, that he Counsell'd your Majesty to withdraw the Viscount of *Turenne* from thence, and to send him to another part, where he would be more necessary to you. You had a great deal of difficulty to take down that Pill. And to lose so, all at a blow, a Country which had cost so much blood and pains to Conquer, was a thing of a hard digestion for you. Nevertheless the Marquis of *Louvois* letting you see the necessity of it, and that without it you would lose *Lorain*, whither the Duke of that name had taken his way in great hopes of getting in again there, you contented that he should send the order for it to that General. But as that General did not find, that the thing was so very pressing, as it was imagined, he returned him word ; that it must be, that some body had given ill advise to your Majesty, to induce you to enter upon such a resolution. That he saw into things more clearly, than others, as he was upon the place : and that he Prayed him to deliver to you a letter, which he had given himself the honour to write to you ; wherein he specified so fully the reasons, which you had to surcease your resolution, that he hoped that you would do it, as soon as ever you should come to see it.

The Marquis of *Louvois* thought, that it was a Vanity in that General, to be willing to understand more than he; and without shewing his Letter to your Majesty, he sent to him New Orders in conformity to the foregoing. But that Great man suspected very much, that this Return was made without your knowledge: and that if he had given you the Letter, which he had had the honour to write to you, you would have done him *that* of sending him an Answer to it. So before he would resolve upon executing what he did order him, he wrote anew to your Majesty; and addressed his Letter to the Cardinal of *Bonillon*, his Nephew; to the end that it should have another fate with it, than the first. The confidence which you took in the prudence and the wisdom of this General, gave you to doubt, whether the Marquis of *Louvois* had given you good Counsel, as soon as ever you had cast your Eyes upon it. And the interest which you had to refer your self to his sentiment, rather than to that of your Minister, made you, that you wrote with your own hand to that General, that he should do in it, according as he judged it was convenient and that you refer'd your self to him.

This was a great occasion of vexation to your Minister, who was used to be Absolute. But yet as he had a greater faith in his own lights, than in those of any person else, he concluded that the Event, which would be conformable to the *Horoscope* that he had drawn of it, would quickly lose the Viscount of *Turenne* in the opinion of
your

your Majesty : who after that, would have no more confidence in him. But he *reckoned without his Host* : and it was seen quite on the contrary, that that General preserved *Saverne* and *Haguenaw*, which the Enemy besieged one after another. He broke the neck also of the design which they had upon *Brisach* : which they began to lock up close ; in hopes, that as it was in want of all things, they should presently have it without a blow. But these occurrences, as considerable as they were, were but yet the least of those, with which he finished so fine a Campaign. For pretending as if he went to take up Winter Quarters in *Lorain*, he returned to the Charge by ways, which before had been impassable, at a time when the Enemy had separated themselves to subsist the more commodiously. And having surprized them, he drove them, beating them one after another, so far, as till they were shut up hard by *Turquem*. He drove them again from thence : and having obliged them to repass the *Rhine*, he punished the inhabitants of *Stratsbourg*, with the Pillage of the effects which they had in the field, for this ; that they had given a passage to the Enemy over their bridge, contrary to the promise which they had made to him not to do any thing in it.

Your Majesty did not leave a service of this nature to go unrewarded. You sent to him, the day after that he was arrived at *Paris*, a hundred thousand Crowns in *Lewis d'Ores* ; and having conferred upon him a great many other marks of honour, you sent the Marquis of *Lau-*

vois to him also, to ask his Pardon for a multitude of things, for which he had reason to complain of him. Monsieur de Turenne did by him upon this occasion, *de même que nous Voyons qu'en use une dogue a l'égard d'un petit chien: Just as we see a Great Dog does towards a little one.* He hearkned to his Complement, without *Deference* to him, and without Anger: and having returned him back with an answer, with which however he had no reason to be pleased, the Prince came to wait upon Monsieur de Turenne, to know of him how that interview had passed.

Monsieur de Turenne having given him an Account of it, the Prince of Conde, who had no reason to love that Minister, entreated him, that they might act in Concert to disabuse your Majesty of several things, with which you were prepossessed to his advantage. The Viscount of Turenne agreed with him to it. But Monsieur le Tellier having notice of it, he came to wait upon the Prince; and *conjured* him to pardon his Son, who for the future should have for him so great a respect, that he should have all the reason to be satisfied with him. So having disarmed his Anger with these fine promises, he prevented his ruine; which was inevitable, if these two great men had gone about it. For it was easie to undeceive your Majesty in a number of things, which he made to pass upon you for great Services, which he did you; when in examining of them, they would nevertheless have had a quite another name.

I in-

I include for instance in that number, the Alteration which he hath perswaded you to make in the Hospitals, *les Maladreries*, for the *Lepers*: the funds whereof he hath gotten you to convert into recompences for the Soldiers. I dare say to your Majesty, that when you will reflect upon it, you will not delay to be perswaded, that his Power cannot extend it self upon things of this nature. You are to consider, that it is a foundation for a *Pious* Work, which you are obliged to maintain. I know very well, that the Pretence, which he hath took for it, is; that that foundation is very useles now, that one knows, that the Malady for which it hath been made, is an effect of pure debauchery; and not, as it was believed formerly, an Evil for which there was no remedy. But whether that be so or no, one does not see, that this Authorises your Majesty to seize upon that revenue; and to give it, to whom you Please. If you can possibly dispose of it, it is but at the most in the favour of the Hospitals; or in converting of it so, as it may answer to the intention of the Founders. For to suppose, that you can give it to persons, who serve themselves of it to indulge their Passions, is a thing which the *Casuits* will not agree to; even though you should chuse them out amongst those, who have the reputation to be be extreamly casie,

I make a great doubt too, whether you could validly unite it with the *Royal Hospital des Invalides*; which you have caused to be built with so much sumptuousness and cost, that it seems as if it was done rather for the Habitation of a King, than for that of poor maimed Soldiers. Because it is for your Majesty, to provide out of your own proper funds for their maintenance, without serving yourself for that purpose of that of others. It would be a sort of a Blemish to you to do so. Because it would be to lose the glory which redounds to you from so excellent an Establishment, if it could be said, that you had made it at another's cost.

The year 1675. was no sooner begun, but you thought upon securing to yourself the Communication of *Maastricht*, which the Enemy had interrupted towards the end of the last Campaign by the taking of *Dinant* and *Huy*. This Conquest had been made by the *Imperialists*, after they were separated from the Army of the Prince of *Orange*: Which raised an emulation in him to retake *Maastricht*. For this purpose he ordered things so, that the Emperor sent to *Liege* the Cardinal of *Baden*, a Canon of that Church: Who under a pretence of Residence, endeavoured to make that City to declare in his favour; which was of a great consequence towards the success of that Enterprize. His Eminence found a great disposition in it to do so;

so ; and it is necessary that I say also to your Majesty, that the Marquis of *Louvois* was the cause thereof. For you must know, that he had given divers occasions of discontent to the Inhabitants of that City, who before were very Affectionate to you. He had caused many times the Houses to be Pillaged, which they have without the City, and in the Country : and that, out of a spite at them for this ; that passing one day by this City, a *Canon* of the Cathedral let loose against him some injurious Words, and so high, that he could hear them.

However it was, the Count *d'Estrades*, who took the care of the interests of your Majesty, prevented the Cardinal of *Baden* by treating with the Governour of the Cittadel, who delivered it up to him into his hands. The happy success of this Negotiation having stopped the course of the ill will of the *Liegeois*, the Cardinal of *Baden*, who had nothing more to do there, desired a Pass of the Count *d'Estrades* to enable him to return in safety into *Germany*. But serving himself of it to transport Arms thither, that Governor took the advantage of this pretext to order him to be Arrested ; Him, and all his Retinue. He was indeed very glad
to

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to justifie to all *Europe*, who accused your Majesty of a breach of Faith in possessing yourself of the Cittadel of *Liege*, that you had had reason to do it: And as this could not be, but by shewing, that his *Eminence* would have done it himself, if he had not been prevented, he visited all his Papers; amongst which he found some, that he thought it convenient to order to be Printed: because they made mention of all, that he had been Brewing. This put to silence all those, who endeavoured to blemish the reputation of your Majesty; so that there was nothing spoken of it more at all.

This Great affair being determined in the manner as I have said, you besieged *Dinant*: which having made yourself the Master of, you proceeded to clear the *Meuse* from that latter Town, as far as to *Maestricht*, by the taking of *Huy* and its Castle. From thence you caused the force of your Arms to be felt by the City of *Limburgh*: which the Prince of *Orange* made a shew, as if he would succour. But having done no more than made a shew of it, it placed itself under your Obedience; whilst the Viscount of *Turenne* returned into *Germany* to make head to *Montecuculi*, whom the Emperor had sent again into that Country.

Monfieur

Monsieur de Turenne had not by a great deal near so many Forces upon his back, as in the year precedent: Because you had found a means to cause a diversion in the North, by the Declaration of a War, which the King of Sweden had made against the Marquis of Brandenburgh. The Duke of Hanover was to second him with an Army of fifteen thousand men: which was to be a Bridle upon those, who might be inclined to succour that Elector. But the Constable Wrangel, who commanded the Army of Sweden, being gained upon by the Enemies of his Master, did not execute the orders which he had given to him: so that the Duke of Hanover durst never declare himself. However this made, that the Elector of Brandenburgh withdrew his Troops from the army of his Imperial Majesty. Upon which the Marquis de Vaubrun, one of the Lieutenants of your Army, had taken Dichstein in the absence of the Viscount of Turenne.

The Marquis of Louvois believing that he had repaired by the declaration of the King of Sweden the fault, which he had committed, in missing of the Peace, when it had been desired of your Majesty so much to your advantage; he
thought

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thought of nothing but of continuing the War, which was kindled in so many different Parts. And as the *Messinese* began to cry *Misericordia*, because of the necessity which pressed them, you sent again thither *Vallavoir*; who was so happy, as to conduct safely into Port a second Convoy of Corn; although the *Spaniards* had layed themselves in an Ambush upon his way, with a force which was much superior to his.

In the mean time, I do not know, what induced you to change your resolution, as to the moderation which you had shown upon their Account. Because they recognized you for their *Sovereign*; and you sent to them for a *Vice-Roy*, the Duke *de Vivonne*, the General of your Gallies, who was the brother of Madam *de Montespan*. This latter Quality, which was the cause, that when there was occasion to provide for that Charge the Marquis of *Louvois* hath preferred his Interests to those of the other pretenders, who were fully as capable of it, was the cause also that he carried it before them. However he succeeded very well in the Beginnings, which he passed in that Country. He enter'd into the Port of *Messina* under the noses of the *Spaniards*: from whom he took withal a Vessel of 50 pieces

ces of Cannon. He reduced after that, some Forts, which they were till then the Masters of: and then putting himself into the Field, he drove them from all the Posts, which they possessed in four Leagues round. After which, going aboard his Vessels again, he made a descent upon *Calabria*, from whence he brought back some booty. But when there was the greatest occasion than ever to look about Him, he threw himself upon his good fortune: which gave way to a great many Conspiracies, out of which he was nevertheless so happy as to save himself.

The Viscount of *Turenne* being Arrived at his army, found that the Marquis *de Vaubrun* had put it into a good condition by some exploits which he had made in pursuance of the taking of *Dachstein*, and which had produced him plenty of all things. So every one desiring no more than to signalize themselves, he passed the *Rhine* with them; and presented battle to *Montecuculi*, who refused it. He could not oblige him to it, because of the Advantageous Post, which he possessed. But after having turned and winded him on all sides, he reduced him to such a scarcity of Provisions and Forage, that it was impossible

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possible but he should decamp before him. He intended to serve himself of that opportunity to charge him. But as he was advanced to observe him, he was killed with a shot of a Great Gun.

This sad accident changed all the Affairs, in an instant. So true it is, that an Army without a General is just as a Body without a Soul. *Montecuculi* who was running away, returned to the Charge ; knowing the consternation in which the Death of that Viscount had cast your Army. And indeed the Lieutenants General, who commanded it, thought of nothing more but to repass the *Rhine*. Which made a thing to be said, which was very pleasant, by your Soldiers, upon the perplexity in which they saw them. *Monsieur de Turenne* was used to Ride a Py'd Horse. And they spoke it aloud, and without keeping themselves private in it ; that they needed but only leave the Bridle upon that Horses Neck, and he would know better than they, which way it was the best to go. However the Count *de Lorges* brought them safe and sound, on this side the *Rhine*, after having given Battle to the Enemy ; who perswaded themselves, that they had had much the better Bargain of it.

Your

Your Majesty was as much sensible of this loss, as the Merit of this great Man did oblige you to be : and that the occasion which you had for him was pressing. But it was not so, with the Marquis of Louvois : and whilst all France was in Mourning for the loss which you had suffered in him, he rejoiced at it, He and His. I know it positively, what I have the Honour to speak here to your Majesty : and if he could have possibly opposed the Funeral Honours, which you ordered to be shown to him, he would have done it with all his Heart. They were extraordinary : Yet I know no person but him, who found fault with them : and the Memory of his great Actions was Engraved so deeply in the Heart of every one, that one cannot say, whether they esteemed him more, than they loved him. And to speak the truth of him, he was not recommendable only for a Military faculty, which makes ordinarily all the Glory of *Heroes* ; but likewise for all the other Moral and Christian Virtues, which in the same person is a very rare thing.

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The Duke of *Lorain*, who had his Troops on the side of the *Moselle*, where were likewise with him those of *Lunenburg*, *Munster* and some other of the Confederates, having learnt this Accident, he laid Siege to *Treves* : Where *Vignori* Commanded, an old Experienced Soldier, whom the Prince of *Conde*, under whom he had served all his life, had warranted to you. He was not concerned for that Siege, wherein he even expected to get some Glory : especially since the *Mareschal de Crequi* marched to his Relief. But at a time that he was giving of his Orders on Horseback, he was thrown down from the top to the bottom of a Bastion by a fright, which his Horse took at a clap of Thunder. So that he ended his days by that unforeseen Accident. This obliged the *Mareschal de Crequi* to hasten his march : who was afraid, that his Death might create amongst his men some *Panick* Terrour, which should lead them to Surrender. But the Duke of *Lorain* spared him the pains of advancing much further; and came to meet him, as far as to *Consarbrick*, where the Confluence of the *Sarre* and the *Moselle* is. He passed the River there ; where that *Mareschal* might have taken him at an advantage, if he would. For it was easie for him
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to fight him, at the time, when he had only passed but a part of his Army. But not having been willing to do so, for I know not what reason, and perhaps he knew not very well himself; he was so finely beaten, that all his Troops took to run, some one way, and some another. He made his escape himself, with so little Company, that he arrived at Trier with only four with him; where he resolved to bury himself in the place; which was worth nothing. And indeed he made a resistance here, such as the Enemy did not expect; which was the occasion, that they offered him a good Composition. But not consenting to hear any mention at all made of surrendering, a Captain of Horse, called *Boisjourdan*, remonstrated to the Garrison, that what there remained for them to do, was, but to deal with his despair; and, if that was so great as to oblige him to desire to perish, it was not to be said, that they were bound to follow his example. There were some who were of his Opinion; and who represented to that Marechal, that the Condition in which the place was, did not permit them to make a longer resistance. But he falling into a passion at that Complement, and not giving them time to go on with any thing more, *Boisjourdan* treated with the Enemy, and delivered to them an entrance into the City. The Marechal *de Crequi* fled into the Church; which he pretended still to make good, with some Officers, who did not approve of what had been done by *Boisjourdan*. But those Officers having let him see, that they were ready to be forced, and that his despair would be blamed by your Majesty, and by all France, they brought him to resolve to surrender upon discretion.

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Your

Your Majesty truly was not well pleased with that which he had done ; and you should have been yet less, if he had pushed on his Despair further. But yet perceiving, that what had been done by *Boisjourdan*, was of so ill an example, that you ought not to suffer it ; you commanded him to be Arrested ; and a Council of War condemned him to have his Head cut off, together with some of his Accomplices. The Sentence was executed at *Metz*, in the presence of the Garrison. So true it is, that disobedience is unworthy of a Man of Honour.

After these unhappy successes for your Majesty, there was some reason to fear, that the Enemy might enter into *France*. But you remedied that too by your Prudence, and caused such a jealousy to arise, betwixt the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*, and the Duke of *Lorain*, that the former resolved to return again to their Country, for all that the other could say to them. It is in this manner, that the Affairs of a Confederacy go always. What the one *will* have, the other will *not* have : Infomuch, that it would be a miracle to see them in a good understanding. Their interests are continually different ; from whence one must conclude, that it is as it were impossible, that their projects should prosper.

The Death of the Viscount of *Turenne*, giving your Majesty to fear, that the Enemy should make some Conquests in *Alsacia*, you sent thither forth with the Duke de *Duras*, whom you had made a Marechal of *France*, three days after the Death of his Uncle. Some other Officers had received the same honour ; and the Marquess of *Louvois* had managed it so well with your Majesty, that
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the Marquess of Rochefort was of that number, although he had not signalized himself any more, than he had done before. The others were the Count d' Estrades, the Duke de Navailles, whom your Majesty had recalled home to you, sometime after he had been banished; the Count of Schombergh, the Duke de Vivonne, the Duke de la Fenillade, and the Duke of Luxembourg. But there being a great deal to be said to that, why the Duke de Duras should not understand so much as his Uncle, you sent soon after the Prince of Conde in his place, whose reputation alone was a great assistance to you in the present Conjunction.

Indeed the Enemy after having passed the Rhine upon the Bridge of Stratzbourg, who now had failed in their promises to you a second time, thought to take Hagenaw by Surprise. But the Pr. of Conde having obliged them to raise the Siege, they cast themselves upon Saverne, which they expected to take with the more ease. The success which they had there, was never the less equal to that, which they had had before the other Town. So that this Campaign, which seemed in the beginning to threaten your Majesty with a reverse of Fortune, determined upon so little a thing, that you had no occasion to fright your self for it.

The Swedes did not come off so cheap. They were at last advanced into the Estates of the Marquess of Brandenbourg; where they had taken some Posts of little consequence, without observing to penetrate further. It seemed really, as if they had acted in Concert with him, they went on so slowly; and because he took so little care himself, to oppose their designs. But that Ele-

Etor understanding, that the King of Sweden, being pressed on by your Majesty, had resolved at length to make other Efforts, he ran out of *Holland*, where he was, to the defence of his Country; and was so happy, that at his arrival he put the *Swedes* to the Rout, at a Pass, called *Felbeling*. They there lost the greatest part of their Canon and their Baggage; whereof not being able to recover themselves in all the *Campaigne*, the King of *Denmark*, who had taken the part of the *Electors*, as well as the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*, found an opportunity to do his own Business. They attacked that Crown, all at the same time, in the Dutchy of *Bremen*, in the Island of *Rugen*, and upon its other Frontiers; and meeting with no more resistance on one side than the other, the King of *Denmark* besieged and took *Wismar*, a considerable Port which they had upon the *Baltick* Sea.

Your Majesty having reason to discern now more than ever, the ill Service, which the Marquess of *Louvois* had done to you, when he had hindred you from concluding a Peace, you accepted of the Mediation, which the King of *England* offered to all the Princes, who were Parties in the War, in order to bring it to an end. The others consented to the same as well as you; and they sent their *Plenipotentiaries* to *Nimmeghen*; whither yours were repaired the first. The *Spaniard* had shown to it, till then, more of repugnance than the others. But the Affairs of *Messina* diminished much of his loftiness, and he was afraid, lest you should make your self the Master of all the Kingdom, as you had already done of the *Metropolis*, and of the City of *Agonsta*, in-
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to which the Mareſchal de *Vivonne* had put a Garriſon. Not that this latter City was conſiderable for its ſtrength : But as it had a good Port, it was always a retreat for your Shipping, which was much for your Advantage.

The *Hollanders* on the other ſide, were very weary of a War, which was extremely chargeable to them, by the Subſidies which they gave to the Princes, who were come to aſſiſt them. Beſides they conſidered, that they were almoſt out of the Broil, by the Evacuation which you had made of their Country. So that there was only now the intereſts of the Emperour to conſider, together with thoſe of the Princes of the Empire. But then thoſe were ſo different the one from the other, that this was to be, what muſt lead the way to a Peace : Becauſe it is certain, that they had more to diſtruſt from ſuch as were on the ſide with them, than from the Arms of your Maſteſty. Indeed the Power, which the Emperour ſhould acquire to himſelf inſenſibly, ought to give a great jealouſie to all thoſe Princes : and He on his ſide ought not to be over much pleaſed to ſee them in a good underſtanding with one another, and conſerring often together upon their Intereſts, without calling him to it.

Things being in this Poſture in the beginning of the Year 1676. the Marqueſs of *Louvois*, who continued a grudge at me, for the Buſineſs of the *Rantes*, endeavoured to do me the like turn in another of the Revenue, in which he ſuſpected that I was dipt. But I made it to appear to your Maſteſty, as clear as the day, that I had no part in it ; and that if there was ſomething done there, which was not to be done, you were to take it

from *Desmarets*, my Nephew, who had had the Direction of it. I told you at the same time, that I did not engage to you for any thing upon that matter; and that you knew, that I had said to you more than once, that he was a dangerous Man, where he found there was something to be gotten. As yet I had never suffered any thing by him: But he did not forbear to deceive me the first of any, his greediness was so great. Your Majesty in the mean while had done to him more than well a thousand times, what he did not deserve; even so far as to give him a hundred thousand Crowns for his Pains in the first Affair, which he was concerned in. But there are some Persons insatiable; and to whom if your Majesty should give away the half of your Kingdom, they would not be contented. You had the goodness to put up this Business for my sake; and it is not the only thing, for which I am indebted to you: I can say nevertheless, although it do not belong to me to commend my self, that I have never had recourse to your goodness for my own Injustices, or for my own Cheats: I have always endeavoured to tread uprightly, and I defie any Person to be able to accuse me with reason to the contrary.

The Heir of one whose name was *Friois*, a *Swisse* by Nation, who had heaped up a great Fortune in your Kingdom, can give a good testimony of this, if he was called to it. This *Friois* being dead in a very old Age, without having ever married, as soon as he, whom I speak of, offered to claim the Succession to him, he found in his way a *Farmer* of your *Demefne*, who pretended to have a better share in it than he; by reason, that *Friois* being a Bastard, all that he had amassed, ought

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according to the Laws of your Kingdom to return to those, who are concerned in the Duties to your Majesty. This Contestation, which in the bottom was of a great consequence for the one and the other, obliged them to seek for Friends; and the pretended Heir of that *Swisse*, not thinking to find any who could do him greater Services than I, he made to me an offer of two hundred thousand Franks, if I would grant him my protection. But I ordered it to be told him, that there was no sum, though never so large, which could induce me to commit an injustice. So that seeing, that he had nothing more to do with me, he addressed himself to Persons, who had an access to the Marquess of *Louvois*; and who for that Sum, which was divided amongst them, dispatched his Business. *Villacers* and *S. Ponange* had each of them twenty thousand Crowns: *Stouppa* had the rest, together with a certain Man, whose name I have forgotten. The Farmer of your *Demesne* made his Complaints of this to me; and begged me to acquaint your Majesty, with the injustice, which they had done to him. But I found you so prepossessed, that it was impossible for me to effect any thing in his favour.

I know a thousand other instances, in which *Prevarication* hath had the same place as here; and your Majesty ought to be assured, that ever since the War hath lasted, there hath been a dirty Traffick of Offices, which have come to be vacant, as far as down to Ensigns. It is by that means, that one *Alexander*, the Son of a miserable *Ecrivain*, is grown to be so at his Ease; and that he is ready to compare at this day with any Person of Quality that there is. It is also through

the like abuse, that *Charpentier* and *Binoi*, his Brother-in-Law, are now so rich; although the one is the Son of a little *Burgeois* of *Compiègne*, and the other of a Bayliff of *Tonnerre*. It is into the Pockets of these People, that your Majesty may dive upon occasion; without your being afraid, that one should find fault with it. The one will but only disgorge for the Companies which he hath fold; and the others but of the Blood of the Communities, which they have grown so fat with. The poor Village of *Courtisoux* in *Champagne*, and all whose riches consisted merely in Cheese, gave for several Years together three thousand Livres a Year to *Charpentier*, to discharge it from the quartering of Soldiers. But since it hath not any longer been in a condition to furnish him with so great a Summ, and that it hath desired him to moderate it, he hath forgotten their Presents, and hath ordered the *Billets* to it.

If I would fill this Paper with the abuses of this kind, I should never have done; and your Majesty knows, that it is not yet long, since I let you see the Cheat which they had used to you in the Lift of the War; where they made you to pay the same Regiment twice over, by an understanding which there was betwixt the *Commissary* and the *Treasurer*. I know very well, that one cannot impute this disorder to the Marquess of *Louvois*. But besides, that it lies upon him to answer for the Persons whom he puts into Office; he is also obliged to have his eyes upon it, without my being bound to watch to it. My Employes should furnish me with Business enough, without having over and above this new Charge. And yet as it is so, that the Interest of your Majesty, and that
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of your People are concerned, upon whom all these disorders fall, because it is of them that one asks Money, when the *Treasury Royal* is exhausted; I do not frame it at all, that I do enter into so great an Account; although it may be impossible for me to do so, without robbing my self of four or five hours, which are absolutely necessary for my Repose to refresh me, after the great Toil that I have lying upon me.

Your Majesty will please to reflect upon what I have now said to you, when you shall see convenient: In the mean time, I return to that which follows of your History.

The Ravage, which the Garrison of *Philipsbourg* committed in the Estates of the *Electeur Palatine*, obliged the Emperour to keep that place lock'd up all the Winter, to deliver him from their continual disquiet. He promised him withal, that he would draw that *thorn out of his foot*, by ordering the place to be besieged, as soon as the Spring should come; which was what they had not dared to undertake, in the life-time of *Monsieur de Turenne*. The *Count de Lorge* importuned in the mean while your Majesty, that you would do him the same favour, which you had done to his Uncle, and to so many others, whom you had honoured, as I have said before, with the Staff of a *Mareschal of France*. He added to the foot of the Account, the Service which he had done you, in bringing back your Army to this side of the *Rhine*, after the Death of his Uncle: Besides that it was a long time, that he had served. Your Majesty made a difficulty of relieving your self; not that you should not esteem him as a brave Man, and very understanding.

his Art ; but because having a very little Estate, he would not be in a Condition to support that Dignity. The Marquis of *Louvois*, who considered him as the Nephew of a Person whom he had never loved, did not do him besides any over-good Offices ; imagining that he would never be his friend. As I saw this, and that the repugnance which your Majesty had to do him Justice, proceeded but from what I have said here, I let it be told him, that he should court the Daughter of *Fremont* ; and provided that he obtained the good word of her Father, I warranted him that the other Affair should go well. In the mean time, to render him an entire piece of Service, I threatned underhand *Fremont* to call him to an account for some things which he had done, and from whence he had gained so very much, that he passed for the richest man in *Paris*. This put him into a fright ; and believing that he had a need of protection, he hearkened to the Proposition which the Count de *Lorge* made to him, on condition of his being a Mareschal of *France* first. I then acquainted your Majesty with the change, which was preparing in the favour of that Count : So that being satisfied that this Match would put him into another posture than that in which he was, you granted to him the Staff which he desired so ardently. He married afterwards *Mademoiselle de Fremont*, who brought him so large a Fortune, that he purchased the Place of Captain of the Guards to your Majesty, and paid for it in ready money. He treated likewise for the County of *Quintin*, which is one of the most considerable Estates in *Britany*, and which is worth Fifty thousand Livres Rent. But as when one begins to grow happy, it is almost

almost ordinary to see that Fortune loads us with her Favours; He, of whom he had bought that Estate, and with whom he had engaged to pay the debts, and to give him besides a large pension during his life, dyed in a little time after, so that he was discharged of the same.

The part which I had had in his Fortune, was an occasion that the Marquis of *Louvois* left him without an Employ this Campaigne, although he had acquitted himself better than the *Mareschal de Rochefort*, to whom he gave to no purpose Orders to throw Men and Ammunition into *Philipsbourg*. Your Majesty knows the fault that he committed, in pretending to execute that Order; and how the grief that he took at it, broke his heart. For it was not so much Courage, which he failed in, as Conduct: Which is an instance to show us, That we ought never to wish to be advanced beyond our strength: because we do but by that means fall from a greater heighth. In short, such a one may be good to acquire a reputation in one Post, as would lose it in another, which should be higher. Prudence requires that we should measure our Ambition by the knowledge of our selves: Otherwise we shall discover to our prejudice the Truth, which hath been endeavoured to be inculcated to us, in giving us the Fable of *Phaeton*.

You opened this Campaigne by the taking of *Conde*, which was followed by that of *Bouchain*. The Prince of *Orange* being drawn near to your Army to relieve those Places, found it not convenient to attack you with another, which was much inferiour to yours. Those two Conquests being made, your Majesty came back to *Versailles*, after having left the greatest part of your Army under

under the Command of Mareschal de Schombourgh, and sent the rest to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, who commanded in *Germany*. The Prince of *Lorrain* was there at the head of the Army of the Emperor, and besieged at last *Philipsbourg*; which made so good a Defence, that the Duke of *Luxembourg* had all the time, which he could desire, to relieve it.

The Prince of *Orange*, on his side, laid Siege to *Maestricht*: the Commandant whereof, after the Example of Him of *Philipsbourg*, did his Duty so well, that the Mareschal de Schombourgh gave time to the Mareschal d'*Humieres* to form the Siege of *Aire*; for which purpose he had lent him a part of his Troops. But having retaken them again, when that Siege was finished, he marched straight to him. From whence there would have followed a bloody Battel, if the Prince of *Orange*, who had lost six weeks upon that Siege, and six or seven thousand men, had not thought convenient to retire in good time.

This happy Success of your Arms disencouraged still the more the *Hollanders* against the War. Besides that, since the beginning of the Year, there was a misfortune befallen them at *Messina*, of which they made at least as great an account as of the other. They had sent upon these Seas the famous *de Ruyter*: Who from a little Seaman, which he was in the beginning, had been raised by degrees as high as to the Command of their Fleet. Never any man had had more reputation upon these two Seas: And he was come off so glorious in all the Affairs, wherein he was concerned, that it seemed as if his name alone was altogether sufficient to give the Victory to his side.

side. However your Vessels having fought him, put him to the flight. With which not holding himself yet to be well beaten, he tried three months after a Second Engagement; which was still more for his disadvantage than the first. For he was not only defeated in it, but he received also a Wound, of which he dyed at *Syracusa* Ten days after.

There was nothing wanting more to your Majesty, who by these Two Victories became in a Condition to continue gloriously your Protection to the *Messinese*, than to receive the like issue to your Undertakings in *Germany*. But the Duke of *Luxembourg* met there with so many difficulties, that after having tried a hundred several ways to succour *Philipsbourg*, he abandoned the Design of it. So after a Siege of above Three months, the Prince of *Lorrain*, who had never before commanded in Chief, received the pleasure to reduce so strong a place. But the moment of his Triumph was like to have been that of his Death. The Bridge, by which he entred into the City, sunk under him, by an Artifice as it was pretended of the first persons of the *Emperor's* Court; who seeing him in too great a favour with that Prince, had resolved to make an end of him.

The *Swedes* continued on the War. Unfortunately they lost *Elsinbourg*, *Landskroon*, *Christianstad*, and some Places more. And although they had gotten some Advantages over Major-General *Duncquan*, and afterwards a Victory near *Lunden*, their Affairs did not go the better for them.

Your Majesty was the only one, who continued to fix Fortune on your side. The City of *Valenchiennes* fell under your power the Campaigne following:

following: And although it was one of the strongest of the *Low Countries*, and that it was defended by a good Garrison, you must have put all there to the Sword, if you had been willing to make use of the advantage which Fortune had given you. But you left your Clemency to act in the behalf of those unhappy Persons: And at a time that they expected to lose their Fortunes and their Lives, you preserved both the one and the other to them. You attacked afterwards *Cambray* and *St. Omers*, all at the same time: And the diversion of your Forces, which you was necessarily to use for those two Enterprises, giving the Prince of *Orange* to think, that Now was the Opportunity or Never to undertake something, he advanced as far as to *Cassel*, where the Duke your Brother defeated him. Those two Places made scarce no resistance after that: And your Majesty having executed all these great things, before the time that other Conquerors are used to put themselves into the Field, your Reputation, which was already very great in *Europe*, mounted to that height, that one looked upon you as the first Man of the Universe.

The Prince of *Lorraine* nevertheless, whose great and generous Soul inspired him more with an Emulation, than with a Jealousie at your great Actions, perceived his Courage still to double upon it. He drew near your Frontier, at the head of a fine Army: And possessing himself of *Monson*, a Place without defence, he threw on this side the *Maes* a Detachment, which gave a greater fright than it did mischief, to the Province of *Champagne*. For this Detachment neither dared to go far from him, nor to undertake to follow

follow him, because of the Marechal *de Crequi*, who observed it. Indeed it is no small Enterprize to enter into an Enemy's Country : And it is for a General to consider, whether he shall be able to get out of it again, when he will ; Especially when there are no Places nigh him to make a retreat to, nor Neighbours to give him their hand.

However it is, he did not forego as yet the hopes of getting in again into his Country : Whereunto he had more Right than ever to pretend, by the death of his Uncle ; which had happened a little time after the taking of *Trier*. But as that depended upon what the Prince of *Orange* would do, who had promised him to enter into *France* on his side, he waited for the effect of his Promises, to regulate his Designs accordingly. The hopes of the Prince of *Orange* were founded upon the manner in which your Majesty carried on the War. You had an Army which was but indifferent : But you employed it with so much Judgment and Prudence, that although That of the Enemy might be superiour to it, yet you did not forbear to make Conquests every year. This was done by the means that you gathered them all together in the Winter ; whilst the Enemy was obliged to order theirs to take Winter-Quarters afar off : From whence they could not be come back, when you had opened the Campagne. By this means you was the strongest in the beginning : And then when you had executed your Designs, you sent a Detachment into *Germany*, and continued in *Flanders* upon the Defensive.

Upon this Occasion, it was, that the Prince of *Orange* found himself in a condition, in the latter
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end of the *Autumn* to enter upon something; and that he was strong enough too this year to make the Siege of *Charleroy*. I have already mentioned to your Majesty the reason why you did reckon so much upon that Place. But there was another for it now at this time. He pretended, when he should have taken it, to enter into *France* even just as he pleased. In the mean time he found himself a great way off of his Account. For upon the Advice which he had, that the *Mareschal de Schombergh* marched to him, and that your Majesty in Person prepared to follow him, he waited for neither the one nor the other of you, and raised the Siege.

The Prince of *Lorraine*, as he could not depend any more upon him after this Check, and feeling himself separated from his hopes, abandoned *Monson*, and retook the way of the *Rhine*. The *Mareschal de Crequi* followed him: And after divers Incampments which they made, the one and the other, they came so near together at *Kokesbergh*, that it gave an occasion to a rugged Skirmish. The *Curiaffiers* of the *Emperor* did a little ill-treat your *light* Horse there: But the advantage which they had had upon that, your *Hou- shold* had upon them: And they made it to be seen by the two Armies, that in half an hour's time they knew as well how to fly before the Enemy, as they did how to pursue him.

The Prince of *Lorraine* judging by this pattern, that it was better to go to take *Winter-Quarters*, than to stand any longer to waste himself, he drew farther up into *Germany*: Whilest the *Mareschal de Crequi* made a Feint, as if he would imitate him. But returning at the same time *jur se- pas,*

pas, he attacked and took *Fribourgh*, before that That Prince could come up soon enough to succour that Place.

You beat your Enemies also in *Catalonia*, which you ravaged every Year. They lost there the Bat-tel of *Pouille*, whither they were come to meet their misfortune. They were able to do nothing neither at *Messina*, notwithstanding all the money, which they strewed abroad there, to intice them to cut the Throats of your Garrison. At last, you ended this Fine Campaigne with the Conquest of *St. Guillain*; which took down in that manner the Courage of the *Hollanders*, that although the Prince of *Orange* had married the Daughter of the Duke of *York*; and that he promised them, that his Marriage would be a means to bring that Crown to declare for them, they had a greater desire nevertheless than ever to make a Peace.

The *Marquis* of *Louvois* had so well served your Majesty in all these Conquests, that his Favour increased to that height, that I could not any longer hold it against him. At the Death of the Chancellor *Seguier*, I had disputed with his Father for that Office, which he had put in for with all his power. I made my self to be received an *Advocate*; a Quality, which one must necessarily have in order to obtain it. But your Majesty, to reconcile us, gave it to Monsieur *d'Aligre*, a Counsellor of State; notwithstanding that his great Age, and the weakness of his Understanding might render him incapable to exercise it: So that it was convenient that his Son, the *P. Abbe* should do it for him. But as he was of an odd and a particular humour, those who had business

to him, did not find him any thing better than he. At length Monsieur *d'Aligre* coming to die, we began our Canvass again, the one and the other. But it did not hold long on my side: And your Majesty having commanded me to give over my pretenses, you honoured Monsieur *le Tellier* with that so important a Place.

The Marriage of the Prince of *Orange* produced indeed a real change in *England*. He made so many Parties there, that the King of *England* was, as it were, forced to sign a League against you. He redemanded his Troops of you; and as your Majesty could not refuse them to him, you sent him them again: But it was by a way so far about, that the Marquis of *Louvois* had the time to debauch the greatest part of them. For instead of ordering them to imbark at *Calais*, or at some other port adjacent to their Countrey, he chose the remotest one that there was; pretending that his *Britannick Majesty* could not complain of it, because it was a thing not explained in the Treaty which you had made with him. And this ought to serve again for an Instruction to all Ministers, when they have to negotiate with a Prince: That is, if they forget the least thing, they must conclude, that he will serve himself of it against their Master; and it will be too late to think of it, when the Error is past and gone.

The Condition, into which this change cast you, obliged you to abandon *Messina*: Where there was no more safety to be had for your Troops; because the *English* coming to join their Forces at Sea to those of your Enemies, it was impossible for you to stand against them. It had
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been a long time that I had foreseen this; and that I had taken the liberty to say to your Majesty, that you were to augment your Fleet, by ordering the building of New Vessels. But the Marquis of *Louvois*, who would if he had been able have destroyed intirely the *Marine*, opposed it, under the colour of Two Reasons which he suggested for the purpose. The first was, That it was not convenient to give a Jealousie to *England*. The other, That the Kingdom was not in a Condition to support so great an Expence. He made use also of the same pretence to detain your Majesty from commanding a Port to be made upon the Coasts of *Normandy*: Whereof however you will have great occasion, if you have ever a War with *England*. Because in case that your Ships should be ill used, whither shall they go to seek for a retreat? It is a great way from the Channel to *Brest*, and to *Rochefort*: And your Majesty ought to think well of it.

I have delivered my Opinion of this to you again not long since; and that the *Fosse* of *Calville* is a Part, which Nature seems to have made expresly for it. Your Majesty hearkened to my Reasons: And I did really expect in the time that you approved of them so much, that you would give your Orders immediately to command them; to go to work about it. But I have understood since, that the Marquis of *Louvois* hath again hindered a *bit*, which is so necessary to your State; by insinuating to you, that that Place was not so good as I did represent it: And that the reason why I commended it so much, was, because I was very glad to oblige the House of *Marignon*, into which my Son is matched; who having their

Estates hard by there, would find their Accounts in it. Besides, that the Lieutenancy of that Country under the King being in their Hands, it was also an augmentation of Trust to them.

To see how one poisons things, when one hath the least mind to find fault with them! Yet however the Consequence is sometimes dangerous, as I may leave it to your Majesty to judge. But it is difficult for a great King, who does not see abundance of things, but by the eyes of others, to defend himself from the Artifices of those, who have a mind to deceive him. Especially, when they put before them some Services, which make it to be believed that their intention is good. I know only one way that there is to dispatch an Affair in such a case; which is, that a Prince ought neither to trust to the one, nor the other. He ought to examine the thing himself; and to go rather upon the place, than to miss of a good opportunity by too much Credulity. For as for depending upon a third person, there is a thousand inconveniences again that way. There are hardly any, who do not hold by a Minister, upon some account or other: And if it is not so, as there is an Example to be given of it in your Court, where there are two or three persons who have never consented to buckle under the Authority of the Marquis of *Louvois*; yet still it is certain, that they have a secret jealousy in their hearts, which is even capable to work the same effect as is apprehended otherwise.

However it is, your Majesty, whose Prudence is so far from sinking in a Reverse of Fortune, that it seems to resume thereupon a new force, not being concerned in any manner at the alteration

tion of his *Britannick Majesty*, made use thereof quite on the contrary to get a Peace the sooner dispatched with the *Dutch*. You created them so much jealousy, that they sent word to their Embassadors to clear away all the difficulties, which presented themselves to a Peace.

In the mean time, your Majesty knowing that the way to bring them to desire it still more, was, to render your self formidable by New Conquests, you besieged the City of *Gand*; which made a lesser resistance to you, than the others: Because you understood so well, how to lull asleep the Enemy by a Feint which you made, that your mind was upon other places, that it was taken almost as soon as they knew, that it was that, which you really had a mind to. You made your self afterwards the Master of *Ypres*; as also of the Fort of *Lewen*, which was believed, if one may so say, to be impregnable: the Situation of it is advantageous: But yet it was taken by *Scalado*, one fine Night, by the Garrison of *Maeftrecht*.

All this Progress ought, according to all appearance, to have given the *Spaniards* the same sentiments of Peace, as it did to the *Hollanders*. But observing, that what had been done in *England*, had already obliged you to abandon *Messina*; and inferring from thence, that the Alliance which they had with that Crown, would work also as well other Miracles in their favour, they endeavoured to divert them from their resolution. However, your Majesty surmounted all those obstacles, by a Policy, which will be admired by all Posterity. So that you concluded a Peace betwixt *Holland* and You: But before the Prince of *Orange* was informed of it, he believed, that if

he attacked your Army, which then blocked up *Mons*, and should get some advantages of it, he should hinder the Conclusion of the Treaty. So that coming up to fall upon your Troops, the Duke of *Luxembourg* who had already understood that the Peace was concluded, and who imagined that the Prince of *Orange* knew it too, depending thereupon, did not put himself upon the defence, and kept himself so little upon his guard, that He and the *Intendant* were like to have been both taken.

The *Spaniards* were so happy after this, as to come to an agreement with your Majesty, as likewise the *Emperour*; and there remained only besides, the Princes of the North, who had a difficulty to perswade themselves to restore to the King of *Sweden* the Conquests which they had made upon him. Your Majesty obliged them however to it by the Treaties which you proceeded to Sign; in consideration whereof you restored *Maestricht* to the *Dutch*, and several other places to the *Spaniards*; from whom you had but just then again taken *Puyserda*. Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, who was come again into *Germany* this Year, but had not made any better a Campaigne than in the precedent; because the *Mareschal de Crequi* had defeated the design which he had had of retaking of *Fribourgh*, and had beaten a part of his Troops in the plain of *Rhinfield*, taken *Seckingham*, *Offembourg*, and the Fort of *Kell*, burnt the Bridge of *Stratzbourg*, and done several other Exploits, which had made him to pass for another *Turenne* in that Country; the Prince of *Lorrain*, I say, was included in the Treaty with the *Emperour*; and your Majesty was obliged to restore

restore his Country to him under certain Conditions. But he found those to be so hard, that rather than submit himself to them, he chose to retreat to the Emperour, whose Sister he had married in the beginning of the Winter.

C H A P. VI.

An Account of what passed from the Treaty of Nimmeghen, to the Year 1684.

YOur Majesty not having any thing more upon your hands, than the War of the North, for which the *Emperour* was bound to give you a Passage, you commanded your Army on that side to march, as soon as the *Mareschal de Crequi*, who commanded it, saw, that a certain Truce, which your Majesty had made with your Enemies, was expired. He drew near to the *Weser*; where *Spaen*, the General of the Troops of the *Marquess of Brandenburg*, put himself in a forwardness to dispute the Passage with him. But your Army which had passed the *Rhine* very well in the sight of your Enemies, having again very well passed that River also under the Nose of *Spaen*, that *Elect*or and his Allies perceived evidently, that it would be a Temerity in them to pretend to compare their Forces against yours. So that you being the Master to make such a Treaty, as you should judge convenient, you restored the King of *Sweden* unto the Places which he had lost; amongst which there was none yet of a greater

consequence, than those that I have mentioned here before.

The Peace being in this manner restored to *Europe*, the King of *Spain* sent the Marquess *de los Balbases* to your Majesty, to desire of you the Daughter of the Duke, your Brother, in Marriage. This Princess, who would have been much more glad to have married the *Dauphin*, shed a great many tears at this news. But your Majesty, without stopping at that, nominated the *Chancellor*, the Duke *de Villeroy*, Montieur *de Pom-pone* and me, to manage that Affair with that Embassadour. One could not in the mean time console that Princess. However your Majesty thinking that it was impossible for you to find out a more advantageous Match, signed the Contract of her Marriage, without so much as reflecting, whether it was to her liking or no. After this, she was necessarily to part from *France*, and from your Majesty: which she did with such a Torrent of tears, as raised a Compassion in all the Court. She continued in this manner crying, all the road as she went; although the Prince *d' Harcourt* and his Wife, who had the Conduct of her, represented to her the prejudice, that this would do her at the Court of *Spain*: Where she would find Persons sufficiently disposed to mischief her, without giving them besides an advantage over her. But her affliction was so great, that she was incapable of advice; and it was said at that time, as if it had been known what hath happened to her since, that it was, because she had a secret apprehension of it her self.

I had prayed your Majesty to bestow this employ upon the Prince and Princess of *Harcourt*:
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who indeed stood in need of your Majesty's kindness to them ; because he had a Father, who did scarce nothing for him ; and who lead so strange a life, that I was obliged to speak of it to your Majesty. He entertained a Woman, of whom there was a report, that she had caused her Uncle to be drowned, for finding fault with her debauchery. Now as your Majesty cannot suffer such disorders as those, you commanded me to send to *Harcourt*, an *Exempt* of your Guards, to bring into Prison that Woman, who was suspected to have had a Hand in the *misfortune* of her Uncle. But he had ordered her to escape into *England* ; so that the *Exempt* came back with having only sought for her to no purpose.

This was a fine *Memento* to his Son, to be wiser. But whatever example we have before us, it many times does us no good, if we have not in our own selves the dispositions to make an advantage of it. This Prince who had married a Lady, who was very handsome, very discreet, and very virtuous, became out of conceit with her to such a degree, that he could scarce endure her. His Conduct was altogether as lamentable, in his other Affairs : Insomuch, that through his own fault, he missed of the finest Fortune, that he possibly could ever hope for. The House of *Guise* was extinct by the Death of the last Duke of that Name ; who was the Son of a Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans*, your Uncle. *Mademoiselle de Guise*, who was the Heiress to it, was an ancient Lady, who had never been married : and having an *Honest Heart* with her, she thought of reviving her House. She cast her eyes upon the Prince of *Harcourt* : of whom one of her Friends, but who
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was yet more a Friend to that Prince, had given to her an advantageous Character. So she made a Sale to him of the Dutchy of *Guise*: which is worth forty thousand Crowns Rent, and some other effects. In the mean time, as he was not in a Condition to pay the Price, she acquitted him of one Million of it. But he instead of having a gratitude for the Person, who had procured him so great an Estate, began to pretend to ruine him with that Princess: To whom he made a thousand slanders of him; insomuch, that she judging of his disposition by that pattern, broke in every thing, that she had done with him, by a faculty which by her Contract was reserved to her. To see how sometimes a single chance comes to us, and we make our selves unworthy of it by our ill Conduct! Upon which I ought to say to your Majesty, that this is not the way which you describe to the Duke of *Maine*: To whom you preach nothing, but the Gratitude that he ought to have for a like Goodness, which *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* hath had for him: Because she hath given him the Principality of *Dombes*, and the County *Den*, two Estates as considerable as any in *France*; and whereof one alone hath cost her seven hundred thousand Crowns. Therefore of all the faults, which a Man can have, there is none that is greater than *ingratitude*: and if it is one which is not even supportable in the Person of a private Man, it is still much less so in that of a Prince: whose Soul ought to be full of generosity, and always disposed to do good.

Your Majesty, whose Power was augmented considerably by the advantageous Peace which you had made, recommenced within your Kingdom a
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New War, which you had suspended out of necessity. The Conjunction had required, that you should give some repose to the *Huguenots*; of whom you had resolved long since to purge your Kingdom. You set your hand again to that work, by taking from them the *Chambres* of the Edict, which were established in the Parliaments of *Thoulouze*, *Bordeaux*, and *Grenoble*. And the great reputation, in which you were, permitting you to undertake things which you had not dared to think upon before, you caused *Mas* to be celebrated at *Geneva*: which had not been done ever since the Year 1535. that the Priests were driven away from thence.

Thus there are certain times which are more proper than others, for the success of what one undertakes: and it is in the choice, which a Prince knows how to make of those, that one must admire his prudence. He would really do but ill to pretend, that every thing should yield to his will, before he hath rendered his name famous by his great Actions: and he must needs know, that his reputation will serve him sometimes in stead more than even his Forces can.

The Neutrality, which the Duke of *Bavaria* had observed, during all the course of the War, had been purchased with good *Ready Money* by your Majesty: who besides that, had promised to him and to the Dutchess his Wife, that the *Dauphin* should marry their Daughter. Now as a Prince is to look well to his word, before he passeth it, because he ought never to fail in it; you had examined, whether that Match would be for your purpose, and whether that Princess did merit by the qualities of her Person to possess such a
plate

place as this. But yet you had discovered nothing concerning her, which should not induce you to desire her Alliance: A good Education, a great deal of Wit, and to all appearance a great respect for your Person, and for the *Dauphin*: so that this Young Prince being already upon his nineteenth Year, you resolved not to delay any longer to marry him. You sent into *Bavaria* my Brother, who had been one of your *Plenipotentiaries* at *Nimmeghen*, to conclude this Affair: and you had such an impatience to know, that he had removed some difficulties, which presented themselves to it, upon the occasion that the Father and the Mother of that Princess were dead that you ordered him to dispatch *Couriers* to you, from moment to moment. He, whom he had sent to you to give you the Advice, that he had signed the Contract of the Marriage, in execution of the orders which you had delivered to him, did not quit his Horse, till he was come to the House of *Monsieur de Pomponne*, the Secretary of State for the *Forreign* Affairs. Your Majesty had conferred that office upon him, at a time, when he the least dreamt of it. And he was obliged for it to *Monsieur le Tellier*; who fearing that your Majesty should gratifie therewith either the Cardinal *de Bonzi*, or the President of *Mefmes*, who both of them stood for it, and that their merit would obscure that of his Son who was not as yet in his *Brillant*, imploied in the behalf of *Monsieur de Pomponne* all the Power, which he had upon the mind of your Majesty. After this, the *Marquis of Louvois* had had it in his thoughts to unite it to his Employ: Representing to your Majesty, that the functions thereof were to be attributed
to

to him : and that the secrets of the War and of the Foreign Affairs ought not to be, but in the hands of one Person only.

Your Majesty had the goodness to communicate that which had passed to me. Upon which I took the liberty to say to you, that the Marquis of *Louvois* had done unhandlomey to discover so much Ambition : That the Request, which he made to you, signified an itch of commanding over others ; which would be a matter of fear to another Monarch, than you : That in short he gave one an occasion to think by his conduct, that he would never be contented, until you had set your Crown upon his head. But that if I was in your place, I should make him such an answer, that he should recollect himself so well, as never to offer the like request to me again.

This was the posture, in which things stood, when my Brother sent to me a Copy of the same News, which he had sent to your Majesty : but which Monsieur *de Pomponne* had not as yet acquainted you with, because he was gone to his House in the Country, where he was a building. I complemented your Majesty upon it ; not thinking to tell you any new thing. But you said to me, that Monsieur *de Pomponne* had not as yet spoken to you of it, and that you did wonder at it. When Monsieur *de Pomponne* was returned, and sought how to repair the fault that he had committed, your Majesty told him, that he might go back again to his House, since he had so much business there ; and that you should put another into his place, who would have more care to do his duty. You sent to call me at the same time ; and told me, that you gave the place to my Brother : for
which

which after having paid my thanks, I dispatched a Courier to *Munich* to inform him with that good News.

I know very well, that this Affair hath been in another manner represented in the World; and that they said, that by an Understanding with my Brother I had received a Courier before Monsieur de *Pompe*: And that we two had plaid him this Trick to get his Place. But I will only desire your Majesty to be my Witness: And you know the best of any person every thing that there is in it.

This was a fresh occasion of Jealousie for the Marquis of *Louvois*, the Grace which your Majesty had now shown to me. But not daring to suffer it to break out, he suspended all the motions of it; till a favourable opportunity: which presented it self quickly, or at least he thought it such; because he did not fail upon it to speak to your Majesty against me. You went on continually with the Works at *Versailles*; or rather you had commanded it to be done over again all anew: Because you had ordered it to be pulled down already twice, to follow a new Design which had been given you. In the mean time, although in a new Building it is not usual to see a Floor to sink, there was one there which failed, which gave an Alarm to all the Court; who immediately imagined they were all lost. Monsieur de *Louvois* made a greater noise of it than the others; and I understood that he had endeavoured to insinuate to your Majesty, that it was certain, that I had miscarried in my Office of *Surintendant of the Buildings*: And that if I was not in an Understanding with the Architects, it was impos-

impossible that your Majesty should be so ill served. You did me the Justice to believe nothing of it ; and withal you had the goodness to tell me nothing neither of this slander. But as I was advertised by a good hand of the Discourse, which he had held you with, I gave him the turn presently ; by remonstrating to your Majesty, That if there needed no more to prove the dishonesty of him, who had the inspection over others, than to show how ill those acquitted themselves of their Duty, the Marquis of Louvois was however more culpable than I. He, who had had the ordering of a thousand bad Fortifications, which he caused to be taken to pieces again upon some specious pretences, as soon almost as they were finished : That this was the reason, that one saw so much *doing* and *undoing* in your Towns of War, without ones being able to divine the necessity for it : And at least the same thing had not had happen'd to me, but that your Majesty had commanded me it : That I appealed but only to you to witness, whether ever I had proposed to you, of my own head, to order any thing to be demolished : That furthermore I agreed as to the Knavery of the Architects : But I intended to oblige them at their own Charge to rebuild all anew not only the part which had failed, but whatever else should be found still to be defective : And it would be to be wished, for the good of your Majesty, that he also did order the same thing to be done to all the Places, where he found faults : That amongst others at *Tournay* the Engineers had never done any thing that was Good : That they had made a *Fosse* larger by a great deal than was convenient :

But

But as he protected them, he had found no fault with their Work, till such time as your Majesty had spoken to him of it your self: That again instead of applying the remedy to it, as was necessary, he had covered the first fault with a second, which was worse: That he had caused a *false Bray* to be made in the *Fosse*; which rendered that work so defective, that unless it was done over again intirely, the Place would never be worth any thing. My Brother, to whom you have given the Government of it, and who understands better than I these sort of things, told you this, as I have endeavour'd to do here. From whence it is to be inferred, that if I am in fault upon the Account of what I was speaking of just now, that Minister is still more so than me. He, who believes that he knows more than *Monsieur de Vauban*, and than the best Engineers of *Europe*.

In the mean time, every thing which was to precede the Marriage of the *Dauphin* being concluded, your Majesty sent to *Munick* the Duke *de Crequi*, the first Gentleman of your Chamber, to carry the Nuptial Presents to the Princess of *Bavaria*. They were worthy of the Magnificence of your Majesty: And having dazzled all the Court of her Brother, that Prince to whom the *Dauphin* had sent his deputation, married her in that Quality. She parted afterwards to repair to *France*; and being arrived at *Schlestadt*, she met there the Duke and the Dutcheſs of *Richelieu*, to whom your Majesty had given the first Offices of your Household. She received their respects in a manner which was so proud and so haughty, that the Dutcheſs of *Richelieu* sent me
word

word the same day, that if she had known what she had just then seen, she should have begged your Majesty to have left her, where she was before, with the Queen your Consort. All the Court was in the mean time so filled with an esteem for this Princess, and your Majesty the first of all, that I durst not tell you, what had been written to me concerning her. I thought, that it was convenient to wait till you should see her your self: Which was to come quickly, because you had already fixed the day, when you were to set out to go to receive her into *Champagne*. You went nigh upon fifty Leagues to do this, together with the Queen your Consort. But I do not know whether you accounted your self well paid for your pains: Because it is impossible, but you should remark in that Princess, the Pride which *Madam de Richlieu* had given me notice of. For my part, I perceived it but too well, when I had the honour to pay my Reverences to her. Scarce hearkned she to the assurances which I gave her of my respect: At which I should have been troubled infallibly, if I could have seen that she had any better treated the Marquis of *Louvois*. But I was a witness my self of the coldness, with which she received him: And having used the same to all the Persons of Quality, Your Majesty, whose prudence is admirable in all things, put your self some days after upon the Praises of the Queen your Consort: and said it in the Presence of this Princess, that she had so fully gained the Love of the *French*, by her Courtesie and her Sweetness, that you believed that they loved her even more than your self did.

The *Dauphiness*, who had Wit, saw very well, that this Discourse was made for her. But as it is difficult to reform what comes to us by Nature, she could never hit that *affable* and *gracieux* Air, which gains the hearts of our Nation; and which they make a greater account of a thousand times of than any other thing.

This Marriage ~~was~~ had been preceded by that of *Mademoiselle de Blois*, a Princess of great Beauty, and upon whose Merit I should enlarge myself very much, if it was not that it might be said, that I would by that means give a Commendation to my Wife, whom your Majesty had charged with the Care of her Education. She had married the Prince of *Conti*, the Son of him, that I have spoken of before; and who was dead since the Year 1666. possessed of the Government of *Languedoc*. This Government was afterwards enjoyed by the Duke de *Vernueil*, who was very old: so that this young Prince hoping, that after his Death your Majesty would gratifie him with it, he kept himself to his Duty as to you; but strayed nevertheless a little, from what he was owing to the Princess his Wife. I took the liberty to speak my Opinion of it to him: And I did it by the order of your Majesty; who thought, that he ought to make more Account of a Princess, who was so handsome, and whose Wit was answerable to her Beauty. But the ill Company, that he kept, rendering him deaf to every thing that I could say to him, he displeased so very much your Majesty, that when Monsieur de *Vernueil* came to die, you gave his Government to the Duke of *Maine*.

This

This lets us see, that when one is in a Court, which governs it self by Virtue, one must be virtuous too absolutely to pretend unto Rewards. So that one is never to reckon upon the Greatness of his Birth, nor upon the protection which one ought to have naturally: For the one and the other is of no consideration before a Monarch, who regulates all his Actions, as your Majesty does, upon the foot of Merit and Justice. And in such a Court as yours is, a Person of a great Birth, who does not discharge his Duty, is even more unhappy than another; because he is the nearer observed. Your Majesty will know every thing that he does; and what he is capable of: And it is from thence, that we see some, of whom you make no account at all, although the rank, which they are of in your Kingdom, ought to procure them another Figure, than that which they make at present there. But it is a difficult thing to be *young* and to be *wise*, at the same time: And when the Prince, that I speak of, shall have attained unto a riper age, I engage to your Majesty, that you will have all reason to be pleased with him. There is scarce any body, who is exempt from the faults of Youth: And the late Prince of *Conti*, who dyed like a Saint, made a great many more of those than his Son. It is an Evil, which is without a remedy: And if I might dare to give of it an Example to your Majesty in my Family, I should beseech you to cast your eyes upon my Son: Whom I have been obliged to use ill many times, without being able ever to compass my end of him. It hath been nothing but time, that hath had the power to change him: Inasmuch that he would have wearied out

my Patience, if I could not have had That to wait, till his Understanding had ripened it self.

It was in this Year, that Monsieur *Fouquet* dyed at *Pignerol*: Whom your Majesty had condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment, in Exchange for the Banishment, which he was to suffer by his Sentence. He supported his Disgrace with a Constancy, which one could never have expected from a Man, who amidst the important Affairs, which he was charged with, interwove all the Pleasures; or to speak more properly, all the Debaucheries of Youth. But *God* gave him the *Grace* to recollect himself, and to dye like a good Christian. From whence we are to conclude, That *He knows better* than our selves what is proper for us: And that we understand not what we do, when we murmur against his Providence. In reality, one is lost more often in Prosperity than in Affliction: Only *Nature* is so corrupt, that it would have it, that the way to Heaven should be strewed with *Flowers*, instead of the Thorns which are met with there.

The Peace was become already a burden to the Marquis of *Lonvois*; although it had been so little a time since one was entred into it, that one had not as yet had the opportunity to reap the Fruit thereof. He counselled your Majesty to lay under your Obedience the Cities of *Strasbourg* and *Cajal*: And as he knew that those two Enterprises would put all *Europe* again in Arms, he sent thither upon the Places, Persons, who were Trusty Friends to him, and to whom he gave large Letters of Exchange, with the Design, that they should act *secretly*, and that by the force of

of money should succeed in their Negotiations.

Whilest this was a passing, Your Majesty, who was ill satisfied with the *Barbarians* of *Tripoli*, sent against them your Fleet, under the Command of Monsieur *du Quesne*, who was another *Ruyter*. Eight of their Vessels not being able to regain the Port, from whence they were come out, retired into that of *Chio*: Where they believed themselves in safety, upon the account that that Island is under the protection of the *Grand Seignior*, with whom they flattered themselves, that your Majesty would never go to quarrel in a Frolick. But *du Quesne* considering, that by the Treaty of Commerce which you had made with him, he was not to give a Retreat to those *Corfaires*, he went thither to attack them, and he Maul'd them with Common shot. This bold stroke made work for the Ambassador, which you had at the Port: Who was very ill treated there; and the thing would have gone much farther, if he had not appeased the Choler of the *Grand Seignior*, by some considerable Presents. It was a very hard thing for you to conform to this, But yet it was convenient for you to do it, when you came to consider, that the remoteness of your States put you out of a Capacity to make him to feel your Puissance: And that besides, if you did not go to meet those *Menaces* which he made to you, you would be ready to lose the Advantages which you gained by the Commerce that you drove in the *Levant*. Thus a Prince, just as a private Man, is obliged to look to his Interests: Which are sometimes of such a Consideration to him, that he thinks

it his prudence to dissemble a great many things.

In the mean time, the Negotiations touching *Stratsbourgh* and *Casal* had all the Success which the Marquis of *Louvois* had dared to hope for. Those two important Places fell under your Obedience without a blow. But although that they augmented your power to a degree, that it seemed as if you would make now all *Europe* tremble; yet I know not, whether I may dare to congratulate your Majesty upon it: Because I think that this hath wrought the effect which I have remembered you of sometime before, when I reported to you the Answer which the Envoy of *Spain* made to that Minister. I see really, that a stroke so Hardy hath awakened all those who are jealous of your Glory: And that if ever they meet with an occasion to show you their ill will, they will embrace it with pleasure.

Du Quesne, after having performed at *Chio* the Exploit which I have just now mentioned, rendred himself again so formidable to those of *Tripoli*, that he obliged them to ask a Peace of your Majesty. He chastised the Year following the *Algerines*: Whose City he bombarded; and having made it to be known to all the *Barbarians* of that Coast, what your Power was, the King of *Morocco* and *Fez*, sent Ambassadors to you, to be received into the number of your Friends. You held a Treaty with them, by which your People found themselves in a very good Condition: And they began to drive such a Commerce in the *Levant*, as gave a jealousy to all the other Nations.

This

This could not pass amongst all the *Politicians*, but for a consequence of that great prudence, which they had always observed in your Majesty : Yet it was difficult for them to comprehend, how it came to pass, that you should give too much belief to the flatterers, who began to embroil you with the *Pope*.

The noise commenced upon so little a thing, that to speak freely of it, the matter was not worth the pains about it. The Dutchess of *Orleans*, your Aunt, whose Marriage the Cardinal of *Richieu* had contested as long as he did live, and which had not been ever approved of but under your Reign, having made a Vow to establish a *Religious* House in the Kingdom, if she could get out of that Affair to her Honour, acquitted herself thereof by a Foundation, which she made at *Charonne*. She sent for the Young Ladies of her Country to come to it, who settled themselves there, by virtue of a Bull of the Pope ; and who elected amongst them a *Superiour* Mother, who was to be for three Years. The first and the last that they had chosen, was still the same Person : because the Dutchess having given her affection to one of these Young Maids, the others preferred her, and continued her to her Death, believing that they obliged that Princess by it.

She dyed in 1673. And as my Wife went sometimes to that House, where she had never seen any other *Superiour* than Her ; she spoke to me to beg of your Majesty her place, for one of our Relations. You granted me it the same moment, without entring into the discussion, any more than I, whether the nomination did belong to you. But this Nun found a difficulty to her Reception ;

upon the occasion, that those Maids desired to preserve to themselves the right of electing their *Superiour* : and *Vanity*, which reigns more in Convents than in the World, suggested to them, that it was for their interest to do so : Because they might all hope so to arrive one after another to the same dignity. In the mean time the Person, which your Majesty had given to them, appearing to be of a suitable temper for them, and of a goodness, such as they should not find perhaps easily in another, they consented at last to receive her, so as not to do a prejudice nevertheless to their rights.

This good Nun, not having lived above three Years in their House, the Marquis of *Louvois* asked, for a Person who was recommended to him, her place of your Majesty : who ordered him to expedite the *Brevet* for it. But her temper, which was very different from that of the deceased, having raised a fright in these Nuns at her, it was convenient to serve your self of all your Authority, and of all that of the Archbishop of *Paris*, to instal her in their House. In the mean time the Pope not only refused to her the Bulls, but sent also a *Brief* to these Nuns, to elect themselves another *Superiour* : at which the Archbishop being nettled, he advised your Majesty to order the Bull to be cassated by the *Parliament*. This *Body*, which is always ready to extend its authority beyond the lawful bounds, passed an *Arrest* presently, in conformity to what the Archbishop desired. The Pope thundered against that *Arrest* : and the thing growing hotter every day more and more, the Parliament published another *Arrest*, by which these Nuns were condemned to quit their House ;

House; and it was executed upon them accordingly with a surprising rigour. The pretence that they took to pass this judgment, was, that their House was indebted almost as much as it was worth; and that therefore it was convenient to hinder, that necessity should not oblige them to cheat all the World.

There had already happened almost the same thing at the Abbey of *Lonchamp*: where in spite of the Pope, the Duke *de la Feuillade* had intended to cause one of his Sisters to be received for Abbess. But at length your Majesty, after having viewed the Titles of that House, by which it appeared, that the Kings your Predecessors have accorded to it a right to chuse it self a Superiour, you left them to enjoy it, without pushing things further.

The Pope was in a great vexation at that, which was fallen out at *Charonne*: and in another time, he would not have wanted any thing more, to put him upon undertaking to create a disturbance in the Kingdom of your Majesty. But the Splendour, in which you were, giving him to apprehend, that things would but turn against him, he dissembled his resentments; resolving fully nevertheless, to have them to break out, in time and place.

The Archbishop of *Paris*, against whom he was very much incensed, instead of seeking to sweeten him, sharpened him the more still by a thing, which they look upon at *Rome* as a dreadful encroachment upon the Authority of the *Holy See*: but to which they give another name at *Paris*, and in the rest of your Kingdom. The *Nuncio* of the Pope being fallen sick in the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*,
where

where he dwelt, instead of having recourse to his Parish Priest to administer the Sacraments to him; he ordered a *Monk* to come, who confessed him, and gave him the *Viaticum*. The Archbishop made work with this *Monk*, and with his Convent, for going thither without his permission: and the *Nuncio* coming to die, it was believed one while, that he would hinder him from being buried in Holy Ground: so far it was, that he carried the fault, which he had done, in having addressed himself to another than to his *Pastor*. At last he permitted however, that he should be interred in the place, which he had chosen for his *Sepulture*; but upon condition, that he should be carried to his Parish first.

In 1677. There arose another difference betwixt his *Holiness* and You. You Nominated to the vacant Benefices in the Dioceses of *Ales* and *Pamiers*, which you claimed to be fallen to you in the Right of the *Regale*. Whereunto the two Bishops opposing themselves, you served your self of the *Secular Arm* to make your nomination effectual. Those two Bishops, whose lives were so exemplary, that they were an Example to all the Clergy, presented remonstrances of this to your Council: who, having no regard to them, declared themselves so highly for every thing which your Majesty had done, that they were obliged to write to the Pope. His *Holiness* having laid this Affair under deliberation in a Consistory, expedited a *Brief* to you; by which he exhorted your Majesty to desist from an action, wherein you were engaged by evil Counsel. But the Archbishop of *Paris*, who did not love the Court of *Rome*, because that he did not find it disposed to grant him the

the Hat of a Cardinal, put it so firmly into your Majesty's Head, that this thing was just, that you made Answer to the Pope, in conformity to his advice to you.

The Pope sent another Brief to you : wherein he combated the reasons, which you had made use of to destroy his. But the Archbishop of *Paris*, who was not sorry to create a Schism to push on his Fortune still further than it was, perswaded you to take in hand the Bishop of *Pamiers* ; whose Temporals he engaged you to seize upon, to the end, that necessity should oblige him to submit himself to every thing that he desired. But this Bishop, whose life was very much different from his, having diminished nothing by that of the *Apostolical* Vigour, with which he asserted the Rights of his Church, it irritated him to that degree against him, that he perswaded your Majesty to order him to be Arrested. He believed that after that, there would be nothing to oppose his Pretensions : and that the *Shepherd* being no longer able to watch after his Sheep, he would perform every thing, that he should wish him to do : But he found himself still further off of his Account. The *Churchmen*, who were enter'd into the same sentiment with their Bishop, and who had been Nominated to fill up the *Dignities* of the Chapter, served themselves of the Authority, which had been put into their hands, to dispute the same right, for which their Bishop had been imprisoned. The Archbishop declared War against *them*, as he had done against that Holy Man : and having dispersed them all by Imprisonment, or by Banishment ; the Pope, who had again sent several other Briefs to you, upon which he had received
no

no more satisfaction than he did upon the first, took to task the Archbishop of *Tholouse*; whom the Archbishop of *Paris* had caused to act as Metropolitan, to make void divers Briefs, which were decreed by the *Grand Vicars*, who took the side of their Bishop. At length the thing was pushed on with so much heat by the Archbishop of *Paris*, that after having brought one of those *Grand Vicars* to be condemned to have his Neck cut off, he took the Pope in hand in his turn; and counselled your Majesty to order even his Briefs to be examined: wherein he pretended, that there were things, which gave a blow to your Authority Royal, and which were contrary to the liberties of the *Gallican Church*.

If your Majesty had sent for me to this Council, according as you did to that of your Revenue, I should have told you my Opinion: which is, that you will never get any thing by embroiling your self with his Holiness. But as this Affair was out of my Province, you called only thither for the *Men of the Trade*; who being Parties concerned, the most of them advised you to things, which they will be hard put to it to acquit themselves of to Posterity. You convoked by their advice in 1681. an Assembly of Prelates to examine those Briefs: and there being met together the first time with the Archbishop of *Paris*, to the number of seven Archbishops and thirty Bishops, they elected for their President, the Archbishops of *Paris* and *Reims*: two very learned Men both: but whose learning was less necessary upon such an occasion as this, than in opinions of Religion.

The others who composed that Assembly were very near of the same stamp; and so devoted to the Will of your Majesty, that if you had been willing to have substituted the *Alcoran* to them in the place of the *Gospel*, they would have joyned hands to it immediately. So the thing which they were to agitate, was no sooner propounded to them, but the Pope was *sheared*, together with those, who appeared to be of the same sentiment with the Bishop of *Pamiers*. This Assembly extended the right of the *Regale*, a great way beyond what your Majesty did pretend to. And to dishonour themselves still the more, they wrote a Letter to you, in so particular a style, that one can hardly comprehend, that it was the work of those Persons, amongst whom there were some, that had a great deal of Wit.

But their Complaisance and their Passion together went so far, that after this *Examen*, they proceeded to that of the Authority of the Pope: to which they affixed the bounds so straight, that the *Ultra-Montanes* looked upon that decision, as the beginning of a Heresie. The *Parliament* nevertheless, who for this long time did no more than what your Majesty commanded them, ordered that decision to be put into their Registers, as a fundamental piece of your State. It was likewise registred in those of the *Sorbonne* and of the *University*: whereof some members, who appeared to be of a contrary opinion, and upon that account had desired that it might be examined, were banished from thence by Letters under the *Signet*.

Hitherto, your Majesty hath not indeed received as yet, either good or ill from this Novelty:
your

your Authority being so great, that the Pope dares not engage with you. But as the more that a State is Puissant, the more it is subject unto revolutions, it is to be feared that he may resent it but too soon. The Pope, who hath been contented till now to defend himself with the Pen, will employ perhaps the Sword in it, when he shall see occasion. There were many ways to maintain the Rights of your Majesty, which were more sweet: and if the Archbishop of *Paris*, to show his authority to all *France*, had resolved to persecute the Bishops, who by a holy and an exemplary life were a secret reproach to him, because his own did not answer to his Character, it was fit at least that he abstained from persecuting the *Head*: But he thought to repair all this, by the Counsel which he gave on the other side to your Majesty to destroy the *Heresie*; as if that of *Calvin* had been more dangerous, than this which he endeavoured to introduce. Indeed, if his designs should have gone on, he would have opened the door to an unhappiness, which is more considerable than that, which arrives from a Sect, that one can expect to destroy, because one knows the Principles upon which it is founded. But it is not the same thing, when one slights the *Head*: and that which is fallen out in *England*, where we see at this day an infinite number of Religions in the place of the *One*, which did reign there before, is an example against which there is nothing to urge.

However it is, the Victory which the Clergy gained over the *Huguenots* was famous for the great number of the Conversions, which were made. But I know not what Posterity will say
to

to this, that the *Intendants* of the Provinces employed your *Dragoons* in it. A Maxim which did not proceed from you; and which they took up assuredly from other Tempers, that were more filled with violence. Because, till then, you had only made use in it of ways which were sweet and *adroites*; and wherein your usual Prudence was remarkable. You had forbidden them, for Example, the Admission into all Offices, as well Civil as those of your Household: And you had reduced them by the several *Ordinances* which you had made, either to live at their leisure, or else to seek to subsist either by Trade, or by Arms. This had converted some, who rather than to quit their Employments, had chosen to go to *Mass*. However the number of those was much less than of the others, who suffered themselves to be perswaded by the *Dragoons*. It is reckoned that in the single Province of *Poitou*, they converted above Five and thirty thousand. Whereunto the Pensions still helped; which were promised to a great many, but were given only to those, whom they believed to be in a Condition to draw in by their Example such as did not surrender themselves as yet to this *Mission*. At last, as the *Intendants* knew that your Design was to exterminate entirely that Religion, they employed upon it *Fire* and *Sword*: And if one gives Credit to the Complaints of many upon that Subject, there hath been a great number whom they made to undergo such severe Torments, without being able to vanquish their Obstinacy, that if they had been in the *Good Way*, one might very justly give to them the Name of *Martyrs*.

Whilst

Whilst this thing was in hand, the Marquis of *Louvois* made another sort of a War upon the Estates of the King of *Spain*; which suffered a thousand times more from it, than in the time that you had your Arms in hand against him. The itch which that Minister had to render himself always necessary to your Majesty, prompted him to carry on the same measures still, which he had used to get the possession of *Stratzbourg* and *Casal*. The opportunity was favourable for him; because the *Turk* began to employ the *Emperor*. And this made him; that he observed neither the Rules of Justice, nor even those of Decency. He *promised* no more to it, than only some pretences which were not so much as specious, before he entred into *Flanders*: And because it was not willing to submit it self to what he demanded of it, he exacted forthwith Contributions, as if one had been in an open War. In consequence of this Hostility, he did another, which was even a Trouble to those who were the most in his Interests: And this was to demand over again the same Summ which they had but just paid to him, upon the failure whereof he threatned to Burn All.

The Poor *Flemings*, who had thought that they were quit with him, paid also this Summ, to avoid the Treatment with which he threatned them. But when that was done, this Minister caused their Houses to be undermined at the foot; and still he squeezed those Wretches as far as to the last penny: who were made to believe, that there was no other way than so, to hinder their Houses from being demolished intirely. But when he saw that they had no more, he after all
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caused those Houses to be thrown down, whereof the Materials which were combustible were burnt on purpose that they should not serve again. I am perswaded that your Majesty hath never known this: And all those who have the Honour to know you, see that your Humour is so distant from these sorts of Cruelties, that instead of approving of them, you would have punished them exemplarily.

I will not say the same thing as to what passed on the other side of the *Meuse*: Where one saw that your Army, commanded by the Mareschal de Cregui, seized upon several Posts depending upon the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*; and even blocked up that strong place. It is impossible that this should be done without the Orders of your Majesty; who were made to believe by the Marquis of *Louvois*, that the *Spaniards* did still a great injury to you. It had been I do not know how many Years, that he had employed, in wasting of good Paper, a certain Man of *Metz* whom he had rejected in the beginning; but who with much saying to him, that he would find out a means to put, without a blow, your Majesty into the possession of all that there is on this side of the *Rhine*, had at last procured a great deal of access to him.

The way, which this Man had devised, was altogether imaginary. For it was to affirm, that All that, which had held formerly of the Lands whereof you were now in the possession, ought to hold of the same still. However the Marquis of *Louvois* finding his Reasons good enough for his purpose, he sent one of the Serjeants of your Parliament of *Metz* to summon the King of Spain

to render to your Majesty Fealty and Homage for a great many things, which he pretended ought to be held of you. But His *Catholick Majesty* finding no reason for that Novelty, which would, if it had had place, have been more against, than for your advantage; because the *Emperor* at the same time would have pretended, that your Kingdom, which hath been heretofore one of the dependances of the *Roman Empire*, would be owing in like manner to him Fealty and Homage also; the King of *Spain*, I say, laughing at this Summons, made no account to appear to it: And protested against whatever should be done to the prejudice of his Declaration. The Marquis of *Louvois*, who expected as much, caused an Arrest hereupon to be made immediately, by which, upon the default of having not answered to his Summons, it was lawful for you to put your self into the possession of the things which occasioned your Process. This was very easie for you, because you had the power in your hand. So you possessed your self of what was for your Convenience: And as the appetite, *en mangeant*, still came upon the Marquis of *Louvois*, this Arrest produced you more advantages, than would have been done by a War of Ten Years.

The Complaints which the King of *Spain* made to it, gave an occasion to the Conferences at *Courtray*, betwixt the Commissioners of Your Majesty and His. But as you would not there relax your Pretensions, they separated without doing any thing. On his side, he rather chose that you should take Things by force, than to accord them to you by a Treaty. So you made
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your self the Master of all the Country from *Sedan*, as far as to the Gates of *Luxembourg* : And you blockt up also that place so close, that the *Spaniards* could put nothing into it.

However you raised the Blockade of it again some time after : And you said, that it was, because the *Turks* were upon the point of entring into *Austria* : And that you was very willing not to favour their Designs by a diversion, which was advantageous for them. For my part, I believe what your Majesty so said : And I know you to be more sincere, notwithstanding what the Ambassador of *Spain* hath published of it, than to mistrust that you had advanced one thing for another. But that which I can say to you, is this, that if you will preserve to your self the Glory which your Moderation hath acquired you, you ought to take good care of doing nothing to destroy what you have so said. So all your Reputation is in your own hands. For you must know, that as much as the Glory is, as that Action will give you, if it is followed with the Effects, the same will get you as much blame, if ever you go against it. You must therefore arm your self against all the ill Counsels which can be given you ; and which are the *Pest* of Princes, although the Poison of them is hid under the most curious appearances that one can possibly devise.

And yet I very much fear, whether all those Camps which the Marquis of *Louvois* forms so near to the Frontiers of *Germany*, do not tend again to some Novelty. In the mean time Your Majesty, who hath Justice in so great an esteem, ought to consider, that the Conquests, which are

not just, never conferr Glory. And although *that* should be not so, you know that your Power does not go beyond this World: And that there is another, where Kings, as well as private Persons, render an account of their Actions.

The *Algerines*, whom your Majesty had so well corrected the last Year, were not yet become the wiser for it: So that you sent to visit them a second time. *Du Quesne* made them sensible anew, that it was better for them to implore your Mercy, than to expose themselves every day to such kind of Chastisements. He threw an infinite number of Bombs amongst them; which finished the Ruine of the City, which they had endeavoured to repair. In the mean time, the Parties which some made in favour of *Mesomorto*, and others in favour of *Baluck-bachi*, whereof the one was for Peace, and the other for War, hindred that they could not follow the advice of the wiser sort, which was to give you satisfaction. However I question whether their Constancy will be proof against the *Thunder*, with which you make a meen of crushing them. Your Majesty is not accustomed to be disappointed in what you undertake: And your Fleet will return upon them rather ten times over, than fail to bring those *Corfaires* to reason.

I shall here conclude what I have seen of the Exploits of Your Majesty: Which would give you an Immortal Glory, if the Confidence which you repose in the Marquis of *Louvois*, had not lead you sometimes to undertake things, wherein there appears to be more Ambition than Justice. It is for you to examine now, whether I have told you the Truth or no: And you cannot be deceived

ved in it, after I have recited so many Circumstances to you. There wants nothing more to you, to render your Reign altogether glorious, than to regulate it intirely upon your own Sense ; which is so free from Fraud, and from Injustice, that this alone is sufficient to make it to appear, that you have had no share in a very many things which I have here recited. So that I hope, that you will receive in *good part* what I have already spoken to you: And that you will accept, with the same Kindness, of what also I take the liberty to address to you for the good of your State. At least they are my Thoughts: And if I am mistaken, I submit my self voluntarily to your Judgment, and to that of all good Men.

C H A P. VII.

It is endeavoured to show, that the Graces which are very particular, which Your Majesty hath received from GOD, oblige you to render unto Him, what is His Due: Besides, That a Kingdom can never flourish without the Fear of GOD.

IF I am so unhappy to have displeased Your Majesty in speaking to you a great many Things, with more liberty, than you would perhaps wish; it will not be the same thing here, where I cannot go too much *to the bottom*, to gratifie your Piety. Because I have the most convincing assurances, that when the Service of God is treated upon, there can be nothing brought that is too strong for you, nor more to your Acceptation. A thousand Churches rebuilt at your Charge, and others where you have made new Foundations to supply their Necessities; the Blasphemies punished with so much Severity, the Poor comforted in their Miseries, and a thousand other such things which I do not repeat, for fear of being too long, or to pass for a Flatterer, are as so many Authentick Testimonies, that the Glory of *God* touches you sensibly. In the mean time Your Majesty hath done nothing in this, but what all the World is obliged to. Only I presume, that you are obliged to it still more particularly than another; not only as in the Quality
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of a *Sovereign*, you are bound to give a good Example, but also because you cannot fail to do so, without being ingrateful towards *God*.

Let your Majesty cast your Eyes upon the Goodness which he hath had for you, you will then see the things which require of you an eternal Acknowledgment ! I do not speak of those which are common to you with all Men : There is no contradicting of that. But that you should reflect, if you please, upon the things wherein *Providence* hath shined particularly upon you : And by which one must absolutely distinguish you, although one should not be of an Humour to do so.

What Obligations do you not owe to *God*, for your Birth, which was so miraculous ? That of his having made you to be born to possess the Noblest Throne of the Universe, is the least : And to have formed you *doubly* out of Nothing, as he hath done in sending you into the World after a Barrenness of Three and twenty Years of the Queen your Mother, is one, as you can never forget without a *double* Ingratitude.

If you pursue, step by step, what he hath done for you after this, you will find still, That his Protection hath been singular over your Person. Remember that almost General Rebellion of Your Kingdom, that Confederation of the Parliaments against your Authority, the Insolence of the People, and with how much ease you have surmounted all these Monsters ; and you will confess at the same time, that this is not the Work of the hand of Men, but only of that of *God*. If after this, you recal into your memory the Fidelity of your Commanders and of your Soldiers, to the prejudice of their Ancient Interests ; and how
Victory,

Victory, continually wedded to your side, at last obliged the *Spaniards* to condescend to the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, notwithstanding the extreme repugnance which they had shewn to it till then; you will find in all this, that it is a Consequence of the Divine Providence which does not forsake you. But nothing ought to incline you to acknowledge this more, than the Miracle which he wrought to recover you out of that terrible Sickness, which I have spoken of before. I know very well that he left the Natural Causes to act in it: To which the Impious have a Custom to attribute every thing that they see is extraordinary. But there was something more here, if they please. For you were not only condemned by the Physicians in a Sentence, from which I know very well there is an Appeal, but you was also more than half dead: As I call all those to judge who were then present, and who can give me the Lye, if I have advanced any thing against the Truth, when I said that they had already drawn your Curtain.

Let us go on, if you please, with the course of your Life: And see, whether that which hath happened to you since, is still no more than Natural? Can you believe in earnest, that so mature and so well-regulated a Wit, which hath appeared in you so soon after the Death of the *Cardinal*, notwithstanding the ill Education which he had given you, should be a Gift of Nature only? It is to God alone to whom you are indebted for it, and to whom you ought to return Thanks. Wisdom is not acquired of it self: And especially in a Court, where they left you to do every thing that you would, and where the Ladies had the *Superintendence* of your Education.

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What shall I say now of the Wars, wherein you embarked your self by Evil Counsels ; and if I may dare to say so, through a Motive of Ambition ; and which nevertheless you are come out of so happily ? All these Miracles descend still from Heaven : Who after having sent you into the World, to work to its Glory, hath been willing to engage you yet more particularly to it, by Obligations heaped up one upon another. To which if you did not answer on your part, it would be to surprize all Mankind ; who know, That it is the Character of an honest Man, to be grateful.

It is for You therefore, to answer unto that Obligation : Whereunto withal your own Interest engages you. Because if a Prince takes no care to render unto *God*, that which is due to *Him* ; how pretends he that his People shall render it to himself ? To Him, whose greatest Glory it is to be the *Living Image* of God upon Earth ? For if he thinks, that it is enough for him that he is a *Sovereign*, to make himself to be obeyed ; if he flatters himself, that the Rewards and the Punishments which he is the Master of, are able of themselves to attract his Subjects to him, or to oblige them to fear him ; I see he is in an Error, which is so much the more deplorable, as he cannot correct himself of it, so long as he does not know it. The Power of a Prince, let it be never so great, will be soon reduced to nothing, if those, who should obey him, did imagine that there is Nothing Above him. It is Religion which hath planted the first roots of the Fear which they have for him. It is this which nourishes them too ; and which by the means of that Nurture

ture, that it gives them, is the Cause that the Tree, which is sprung up from thence, lives and yields Fruit. Now just as a Tree, whose Roots draw no more Nurture from the Earth, because of some strange body which is gotten in betwixt them two, or by some other Accident, which I do not specify, because it is needless; just as, I say, such a Tree dries up by little and little, till it quite dies; So take away Religion from a State, and the respect and the fear which they have suck'd in with their Milk for the Sovereign, are lost insensibly: From whence there arise all the Evils imaginable, and much greater ones than I am able to express. Indeed it is not to be pretended, that the hope of Rewards, and the fear of Punishments, are capable to hold one up in a *Footing* that is so slippery. A Wretch, who believes no God, may hope for many more things, by his Disobedience and his Rebellion, than his Prince can promise him. And as to the fear of Punishments, what effect can that have upon him? Upon him, who imagines that there is no other World after this; and that he shall be quit of this, for a quarter of an hour *du mauvais tems*?

It is therefore the way to open a door to all sorts of vice, not to take care to render unto God what is His Due. A Prince exposes himself by it to be driven from his very Throne. As to which if we would have an Example, we need no more than to cast our Eyes upon the *Ottoman* Empire: Which is much more subject to Revolutions than other States, because the greatest part of its Subjects are perswaded, that the Religion which they profess is of the pure Invention of Men. Now when one is so unhappy

as to be reduced to that, it is very difficult to rise high enough above ones self, to attain to the knowledge of the *True God*. Besides, that the disorder in which one lives, besots so the Senses, and accustoms one so much to ascribe All to Nature, that one would be very sorry to come out of his mistake.

From thence, let us come now nearer home; and cast our Eyes upon what there hath passed in *England*. We shall observe, that All that, which hath arose unexpectedly up since *Henry the 8th*. hath taken Birth only from the little Religion, which there was in that Kingdom. And that this was the occasion, that amidst all the Sects that have introduced themselves there, the people have proceeded so far, as to imbrew their hands in the Blood of their King.

Now let us come home to your Kingdom. We shall see there the same disorders, under the Reigns of three or Four Kings successively, the one after the other. If one would know the reason of it, one is only to read their Histories. One shall see there, that the one of those was a Blasphemer himself, instead of hindering that his Subjects should not be so: The other an Atheist, and so of the rest. So that their Subjects, who had no more Religion than they, undertook to dethrone them.

These disorders continued down as far as to the Reign of the late King, your Father: and one cannot also call to mind the others, which reigned even amongst the *Ecclesiasticks*, but one shall tremble with horror. A Bishop never visited his Diocess, but because he had *Farmers* there, to whom he was to go to be paid. If
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he made any stay there, it was, that he had got himself some Mistress; which rendred the *Sejour* to him the more agreeable. But as soon as his fancy, was over for Her, he returned again to *Paris*. Where he found himself another; upon whom he spent one part of the *Patrimony* of the Poor. The rest served him to keep Dogs and Horses with: and this abuse was so general amongst them, that they looked upon him, as miserable, who lived otherwise.

I have heard it said likewise by my late Father, that in his Youth, those, who were seen to be invested with the Bishopricks, had them not but to do a kindness to others, to whom in reality they had been given: who knew what they were to pay them out of them, and the Surplus was for themselves. The same thing was practised with relation to the *Abbeys*: and I may say it also to all the Benefices in *France*. The very *Monks* that were a little at *their ease*, bestowed their *Overplus* in Communications which were scandalous: but which were so very much to their *Goût*, that although some good Persons would reprove them for it, they were not yet of the humour to amend.

The Cardinal of *Richlieu*, who knew that the first and most important care of a Minister is to establish the Worship of Religion, and especially with regard to those, whose good or evil example is of a great consequence in the State, applied himself to it intirely. God blessed his Labours: and it is to him, that we are indebted for the advantageous change, which is to be seen here now. Your Majesty hath look'd to it on your part, by not distributing favours, but to those as are found
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deserving ; not only for their good manners, but for their Learning too. Because you know, that when one is to be over others, it is necessary to be in a capacity to instruct them : without which, there may arise as dangerous inconveniences, as those are that result from the worst example, which one can give them.

I who have the Knowledge of this still more particularly than others, as I am a witness daily, how in the distributions of *Benefices*, and of the other favours which you have in your hands, you inform yourself as much of the good lives of the Parties, who are proposed to you, as of the other qualities that are requisite in them ; after this Knowledge, I say, I have no more to add, but to exhort your Majesty to continue the Conduct, which you have observed, as to that, since your coming to the Crown. And as there is nothing that works such a great effect upon the People, as the good example which the Sovereign gives them ; it is to be presumed, that the exemplary life which your Majesty leads at present, will serve for a spur to those to be good, who have not been so careful of that as you.

Above all endeavour to remove from your Affection the *Slanders* and the *Hypocrites* ; whereof the number is greater than you think. The first occasion the same Accidents as Love does : whole custom it is, to insinuate it self at first agreeably into the heart : but it hath no sooner taken root there, than it is a continual death. So a slanderer insinuates himself at first into the heart of a Prince, under the pretence, that his interests are more dear to him than his own. But as soon as he has scattered his Poison there, it leaves him without
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any quiet, until it hath brought him to suspect the fidelity of his best Servants. The *Hypocrites* are still more dangerous. Because under the colour of Devotion, they slip into you such dangerous Maxims, as it is, as it were, impossible to discover the Poison which they have in them:

The other Vices, although your Majesty ought not neither to suffer them, are not at all times so prejudicial to your State. A Man, who gives all to the pleasure of his Senses, does no wrong but to his own self. A drinking Sot is in the same case, and so the others: insomuch, that the Service of *God* a-part, the State suffers in no manner by them. If it is, that it suffers any thing, it is perhaps, because *God*, who is just, is not used to give his Blessing upon places, where they do not correct such great disorders. And indeed I attribute the misfortunes, which arrive to *Flanders*, to their Idolatry there: and I cannot see it without indignation, how they direct all their respects to an Image of the *Virgin*, or of some Saint, and do not regard in the mean time the *Holy Sacrament*, which is upon their Altars.

The *Monks* are they, who are the cause of this abuse. They had established it heretofore in *France*. But we owe this obligation to the Hereticks, that it does not reign there, as it hath done, any more now. They have seen, that this was one of their *Grievances* against the Church of *Rome*: and as the minds of Men, which were under a gross ignorance at that time, have been very well refined since, they have soon acknowledged, that they were in the Right. Not that the *Monks* can have ever doubted of it: and the thing is too clear of it self, to be a *block* to stumble upon at all.

all. It hath been nothing but interest, which hath made them to transform Religion so; and which hath obliged them to load us with Indulgences and Fraternities. They served themselves at first of the weakness of the understandings of Women, to fix their Maxims: and after that, they got them to pass upon the Men; whose ignorance, as I said but now, was so great, that they were not in a capacity to defend themselves from the snares which were spread for them.

If these *Monks* were contained within their Rules, and within the first rigours of their Institution, this disorder would have never been. For it hath but come about by the way of the *Confessions*, to which they have applied themselves by little and little, through the negligence of the *Parish Priests*, to perform as they hold their duty. The care besides, which they have taken to draw Customers to their Churches, by things that attract the eyes more than the heart, hath made, that the Parish Churches, where they are obliged to go according to the Canons, under the pain of Mortal Sin, are found to be deserted; whilst they have not had room enough amongst those to contain the Persons, whom curiosity or a dangerous Zeal hath allured to them. At length, Thanks be to God, they begin to return to themselves again; and to acknowledge the abuses which they have followed with so much blindness. The rest depends but only on your Majesty: in whose hands God hath placed the power to eradicate intirely this Tare, which hath crept in amongst the good Grain.

The ways for it are easie: and withal the putting of them into practise is absolutely necessary.

to Your Majesty, for the good of your Subjects, and the security of your State. The good of your Subjects is seen in this; that the *Monks* mingling themselves daily in what they have nothing to do, get into the secrets of Families: where they cause them to lead many times an ill life together. The security of your State, in this; that being tyed to the Pope by an Oath of Fidelity, they preferr upon occasion his interests to yours: from whence there may often arrive things, which are likely to have great consequences. This Truth will manifest it self evidently to you; if you recall to your memory, what there hath passed under the Reigns of *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* which it will be superfluous to speak of here, because it is a thing which you understand better than I. Now the most sure way of all to go to prevent those two inconveniences, will be to destroy intirely those *Cloysters*: or at least to take away the multiplicity of them. But as this is not an easie matter for your Majesty, for all you are so powerful, I presume that you will perform your part, if, 1. You endeavour to re-establish amongst them the Discipline of their Founders, wherein they are grown very remiss. 2. If you hinder them, that they take no *Confessions*. For it is by that, that they insinuate themselves into the minds of Women, and get secrets out of them. 3. If for taking of the *Habit*, you fix an Age, which is mature, and in which they understand truly, what it is to enter so into Religion. If this but was, their numbers would be the thinner soon; and there would not be so many amongst them, who bite their nails at what they have done, before they

they made the necessary reflexions upon it. 4. If you reform the *Ornamenting* of their Churches: and reduce it to the usage of the *Metropolitans*, or to that of *St. Peter's* at *Rome* it self; which ought to serve for a Model to others: and where upon the High Altar one sees nothing but a Cross with Candlesticks, instead of all the Trifles, which one observes in the Convents. 5. If you forbid that the shameful Traffick of the *Fraternities* should be not driven so in the time of *Service*: which distracts ones devotion, as much as the Blind-folks of *Quinze Vints*, who should keep themselves at the Doors of Churches, and not come to interrupt those, who are praying to God, and who cannot be too attentive to what they do. These two last abuses reign as well in the Parish-Churches, as in the Convents: and it is for your Majesty to put them *to rights*. 6. If you forbid the *Monks* to speak to Women at the Church, either at the door, or at any other part, which is within the extent of their Monastery. Because, what can they have to say to them? And can it be imagined, that they entertain them with devotion? For my part, I know not whether it is, that I am more corrupt than others, or whether I observe things nearer than they may do. But I have always observed, that the old Women are excluded from their conversation. If they are obliged to speak to those, yet they send them away again presently: whereas they have a great deal more to say to the *jolies*. I would fain know, whether they can think to bewitch our eyes to that degree, as to insinuate to us, that they do not burn at the sight of those fires, which they approach to so near. It is necessary, that

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your Majesty stops this scandal : and if you cannot compass it by the means which I set down here, there are others to which you may have recourse in case of necessity.

And this is to order things so, that the Parish-Churches, to whom there is also a great deal to be done, shall set so good an example, that the People may be induced of themselves to come back to them, without one's being obliged to constrain them to it. I find things amongst those, that I cannot behold with an indifferent eye. The Priests who serve them, take for the most part so little care to do their duty, that they do not confine themselves so much as to keep up the *show* of it. I cannot see them go to Burials, but I am ashamed for them at the manner in which they go. The greatest part look about them to the right and the left : and to observe them, one will be sure to say, that it is not so much a Zeal for the Service of God, which hath engaged them in the Profession in which they are, as the care that they have had to make choice of One, which should give them wherewithal to live. They have no more devotion with them, than if it was a *Trade*: and if I may dare to say so, a Shooemaker that is making of Shooes, minds more what he is about, than they mind what they are a-doing of in our sight.

It is for your Majesty to give a remedy to so great an abuse. But this will be a difficult thing for you, unless you take up a resolution to augment in the City of *Paris* the number of the Parishes which are there. A Priest, who is not disposed to give a good example, is hidden much better in the multitude of his Parishioners, to whom

whom he is not known by the hundredth part, then if they all knew him, as it happens in Parishes of a middle extent. What necessity is there for their being so large? And that the *Parsons* should have five and twenty thousand Livers Rent? Make six Parishes where there is but one. This will be the way, not only to render the Priests more virtuous, but to see to it also, that the Parishioners become so too. Because they will be able to have an eye more particularly upon them: and hinder the scandal, which a great many continue to give, because they take no care of them, or do not reprove them as they should. Besides it is the only way to humble the pride of the *Monks*: who think that the Parishes cannot be without them for the administration of the Sacraments. And really the great extent of some Parishes is such, that the Church cannot contain the thirtieth part of the Parishioners. Those therefore who find no room there, must either go elsewhere, or be without the Prayers: And in the mean time, this is that which gets Customers to the Convents, and which causes them to go astray from their first Institution.

After that this shall be done at *Paris* and elsewhere, where there is occasion, let not the Archbishops and Bishops give the Pulpits, but to the *Seculars*: and one shall soon see, that the People will recover themselves again of that Passion, which they have for the *Monks*; and that the Worship of God, will shine in its first purity.

I say nothing of the Laws, which your Majesty ought to make to hinder the excessive richness of the *Convents*. You have already acquitted your self of that: especially with relation

to *Houses* of the *Maids*; to whom you have given order to take no more Money of Persons, who shall desire the Habit of them for the time to come. This Ordinance, which will serve to preserve Wealth in Families, whose plentifulness is more necessary to your State than that which is found to be in these Convents, will produce also another good: Which is, that they will not take in there for the future any but proper Persons; to which they gave no heed before, provided that they brought them Money. But it is so ill executed, that it will signifie no more, than if your Majesty had never passed it. The only effect that we see of it, is; that whereas before, there were contracts made for the receiving of a Nun, it is not so any more now. And yet one pays never the less Money: which is contrary to the intention of your Majesty, and what you ought to redress. The Service of God obliges you to it: and I have given the reason for it, when I said that the Avarice of the Nuns was an occasion, that they received those who had Money, although they might *not* be proper for *Religion*, preferrably to those who had none, and who *were* proper for it. The way to hinder this Abuse is to bring an Information against such, as have contravened your Order: and to take such a correction of them, as may serve for an example to others.

For to what serve Laws, if one does not put them in execution? It would be much better not to make them; because it is to expose ones self to a disappointment, which one should not receive, if one had left things in the State in which they were. Not that I pretend, that your Majesty is
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to punish this fault, as you would do a Crime of State. It will be sufficient that you command the Money, which shall have been taken, to be returned again with the Interest : and you shall no sooner have done this twice, than every thing shall submit to your desires. Now the experiment of it will not be so difficult as one thinks : Although the thing is what is acted in secret, it will soon be divulged, after one comes to know what the intention of your Majesty is. The Fathers and the Mothers, who have still Daughters to provide for, will be the first to be the Trumpets which shall reveal the secret : when they observe that the intention of your Majesty is, to *ease* them, in spite of even the obstacles which they lay against it themselves. Yet these ought not however to have any share in the restitution which shall be made. They are unworthy of that as well as the *Religious*, for having all equally contravened your Ordinances. So your Majesty will make your self rich at their Cost ; and without your being thought to be blamed in it ; because all the World will see very well, that you seek only the Service of God, and the good of your Subjects.

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C H A P. VIII.

Of the Obedience to the Pope.

THis Chapter cannot be better placed than here : because it hath such a relation with the precedent, that it may be said, that when the Obedience which one owes to the Pope comes to fail, one is very near a losing of that, which one owes to *God*. Indeed it is no hard thing to conceive, but if one suffers the sentiments of respect and submission to decay, which one ought to have for those whom *God* hath established upon the Earth in the quality of his Ministers, the fear which one hath for himself will diminish at the same time. The reason for it is easie : because it is to forget the Command, which he hath made to us, to honour *them* as the living Images of his Divinity. We see besides, that there is no Prince, as little as he is, who will suffer, that one should despise those to whom he shall have intrusted his Authority : and nothing is more common amongst us, than the respect which they oblige us to give them : from whence if one departs in any manner, the Prince will bring us to return to it again very soon. Observe but the regards, which one must have, I do not say only for a Governour, or for a Lieutenant General of a Province, but even for the least judge. From whence comes it, if it is not from the Character, which they are invested with ; and with which the Prince hath honoured them ? I should say also, in which honour
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he maintains them, and thinks it to be his interest to make them to enjoy it. Now can one imagine, that *God* should be less jealous of preserving to his Ministers the Authority which he hath intrusted them with, and upon which depends the safety of Religion?

I know very well, that the Kings of the Earth are the *Anointed of God*: and that in that quality they seem to be above all others. But one is not however to suffer himself to be mistaken there. Their rights are different from those of the *Church*: and just as the Church does not allow, that the Subjects should fail in the obedience, which they owe to their Prince, for any reason whatsoever; so a Prince ought never to allow that any should fail in the respect and the obedience which they owe to the Church.

If the Church had continued upon the terms in which it was in the time of the Apostles, and that it had never at all joyned the *Sword* to the *Mitre*, I know very well that this would smoothen a great many difficulties, which do occur at this day. But since it is a thing done, and that it hath not happened without the permission of *God*, it is fit to keep ones self to what he has ordained, and not to give a new occasion of scandal. I see, that there are *Men of the Church*, who take a liberty beyond their duty: That there have been Bishops, and even Popes, who have not been exempt from faults. Nevertheless, whatever the thing is, that is found upon them, it hath never been able to take away from them their Character. Now as it is to this Character, to which the respect is affixed, it must not be that their Actions should make them lose it: Because, if one

introduced that abuse, it would fall at the same time upon *Crowned Heads*: from whose obedience one would pretend a power to be dispensed, the moment that one should see that they should erre from their duty.

Would to God, Sir, your Ministers had reflected so as it was fitting upon this truth! They would not have carried the *Regal Authority* so high, to the prejudice of the *Tiara*: and I very much question, whether Equity hath always been the rule of their Actions. • If I were so knowing, and so ingenious as to be able to enter into the Particulars of that great difference, which you have had with *Rome* upon the subject of the *Regale*, and of many others which have followed it, I would decide the question immediately, and not speak of it by a *Perhaps*. But it may very well be, that I explain my self in the manner as I do in the ignorance that I am in: which does not permit me to dive further into the bottom of things. In the mean time, if I am asked, Why, since I avow my incapacity my self, I am carried rather to condemn them, than to absolve them; I humbly beg your Majesty to reflect, that it is, because you have not had only *Rome* against you in this Rencounter, but also many Bishops and many Doctors of your Kingdom: whom one hath always regarded as examples of virtue; and who really have always liv'd exemplarily. We see also, that they have chosen to suffer exile and imprisonment, rather than to submit to a thing, which they believed to be unjust. And to say, that what they have so done, hath but only proceeded through a *Headstrongness* of theirs, it may serve to impose, if one pleases, upon the
simple;

simple; but for others they see very well, that if they have mistaken themselves, it is what however they have never intended to do. It is not to be believed indeed, that such as they should go to displease their Master with a premeditated design : especially You, who are the greatest King on the Earth, and for whom your Subjects entertain the most esteem and respect. It is more natural to imagine, that your Majesty not seeing into these sort of things, but through the eyes of those upon whom you relie, the desire which those have to render themselves necessary to you, hath put them upon Actions, which they would find something to do to justify themselves for, before an impartial Tribunal. They take no care, how they expose by that means your Majesty to New Enemies ; whereof they have no need to increase the number, since your Conquests give you enough of them already.

If they but reflected upon what some Persons, at least as wise as they, and who have grown old in Embassies, have represented to the Kings your Predecessors, they would proceed a little more warily. One is mistaken often, when one weighs his designs only by the power of him for whom he Acts. Unless Justice holds the Balance, it would be better a thousand times never to undertake any thing. And in truth I should be very glad, that those great *Politicians* would show to me, where are the *Lawrels* which they have gathered for your Majesty, by the Exile and the Imprisonment of so many pious Persons ; and whom the Pope not only acknowledges to be such by his *Bulls*, but exhorts them still to suffer for the love of the Truth. I should be very glad too,
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that they would tell me what Victory they hope for from those Arrests of Council, which ordered, if I may say it, insolently, that without having regard to the *Bulls* of his *Holiness*, one should perform literally All that they had concluded upon in the Fits of their Frenzy.

There are ways more sweet, and more agreeable to the *Most Christian King*, by which to determine the differences which he may happen to have with *Rome*. It does not do well for a *Son* to revolt against his *Father*: And one disarms him much sooner by tenderness and by sweetness, than by holding up *the stick* at him. If it is glorious to have the *Uppermost* of ones Enemies, it is inglorious to pretend to be the Master of those to whom one owes a respect. So that when Your Majesty shall have taken *Rome*, and all the *Ecclesiastical State*, you are too ingenious and too prudent not to see, that those Conquests would but acquire you the same Reputation, which *Charles the 5th.* hath had upon the like occasion. A faithful and a disinterested History represents him to us as a Prince without Religion and without Truth: And that which flatters him the most, let it as it will seek a Veil wherewithal to cover that Action, it is too clear a thing not to discover the Dirt through it. I know very well, that in That of yours one will give a *Turn* to that part that shall secure your Glory. But in a word, Sir, you do not keep all the Pens in your pay; and there may come those, who will believe themselves obliged to take a flight upon that Matter. In the mean time, the slander is often better received than the Truth: And if it is true, as we must agree it is, that the greatest Kings have not the power to hinder

hinder that one should give himself the liberty to examine their Actions ; How many will there be, who will say that it is fit that a Prince should see every thing with his own Eyes, without referring himself to those of others ? Besides, that when one does a thing, it is always prudence to consider the end of it, and the Consequences which it can have. Now I would ask the Archbishop of *Paris*, and the others, upon whom your Majesty relies in the Affairs of the Church, what Profit can you receive from embroiling yourself with the Pope ? There can be none certainly ; because unless you would quite and clean destroy Religion, All the Enterprises which you can make against his *Holiness*, will recoil always upon you. The reason is ; because *Europe* not being possible to continue perpetually in the same State, and the Pope holding a great rank in it, not only upon the *Spiritual*, but also upon the *Temporal* Account ; He is an Enemy, which one raises up to ones self, both in his own Person, and in that of his Successors : And a dangerous Enemy, and who hath a *Thunder* in his hand, which does sometimes more mischief than that which your Canon hurls, though it may not make so much noise. The Credulity of the people is sometimes great upon this occasion : And your Majesty is too piercing, than not to see the Consequences of it. The Thunders of *Rome* have often wrought the Subversion of the greatest States : And yours it self hath felt such furious shocks by them, that it hath required more than a days time to fasten again. History is all full of the like Occurrences : And if the Glory and the Power of your Majesty secure you from that Fear, you

you ought however to have your Eyes Open upon your *Descendants*: Who will inherit very much of the one, it is true; but who, although they may have the same Virtues, will not perhaps have the same good Fortune to acquire themselves the other.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Love which a Prince ought to have for his Subjects, and of Taxes.

THERE is Nothing which does better prove the Love, that a Prince is to have for his Subjects, than the Reflection which he ought to make why they have elevated him above them? For, in short, there hath been a beginning to all things: And since we acknowledge *Pharamond* for our first King, it is a Token that we had none before; or at least, that we have no knowledge left of them. In the Time that the *Gauls* were under the Dominion of the *Romans*, they speak very much of some famous Captains amongst the *Gauls*: But That is all the Title which they give them; and this of King hath never been attributed to them. They do not tell us neither that they had the Command of any other part of them, than the Army; and the moment that the Enemy retired, every one returned to a private Life again. If they did still preserve an esteem for those more than for the others, it was their Virtue which engaged them

them to it; and not an Authority which was remaining in their hands; because they had none out of their Arms.

The great Efforts that the *Gauls* were obliged to make to preserve their Liberty, which they had taken so much pains to acquire, lead them to think upon chusing themselves a *Master*. But a *Master*, who had but only the name of one; and who was so far from making himself a Tyrant over them, that he concurred with them to enfranchise them from the Servitude into which they were afraid to fall again. For it is easie to see, that if He, upon whom their Choice was fallen, had pretended to treat them as their ancient Masters had done, they would have taken care presently to have set bounds to his Authority. The Establishment of *Royalty* therefore, was no more properly in the beginning than the Election of a *Chief*: To whom they engaged themselves to obey, for the Common Good; and who was to have for his Subjects the same Affection, which a Father of a Family hath for those who compose it. So that although things may have been much changed since, in several Monarchies, yet one must always recurr to the *Truth*. *Arbitrary Power* cannot be agreeable to any Person: And if the *Turks* had not introduced it amongst them, their *Emperors* there would be much more secure than they are. A Prince ought much rather to seek to reign in the hearts of his Subjects, than to inflave their Wills with the fear of his Power. In the mean time, according as it hath been found, that they have pretended to a Power to do every thing, this hath given occasion in certain Parts to the Convocation of the Estates; and in others,

to that which is called the *Parliament*, or the *Dyet*: But whatever the name is, which one gives to those sorts of Assemblies, it is always the same thing. Because the one and the other do but represent the intire Body of the Monarchy; as it is composed of the *Clergy*, the Nobility and Gentry, and the Third Estate. Such is for Example, the *Parliament of England*. For as for ours, they are but established only for the uses of administering Justice to your Subjects. So that when in the time of your Minority, That of *Paris* hath pretended to a Power of interfering in the Affairs of the State, it was an Encroachment which they made upon the Authority of your Majesty: for which you had just reason to punish them. Good Princes have always been the Protectors of these Estates, and of these Dyets or Parliaments, without being solicitous whether they should assemble them or no. Because they have desired to do nothing but what is advantageous to their People; whereof, to speak properly, the Estates and the Parliaments are the *Guardians*. but for those, who have had a Design to incroach upon their Liberties, and to introduce an Arbitrary Government, they have never dreaded any thing so much; because it is the Rock of their Desires, and of their Expectations.

To say, that it is convenient that these Assemblies should be held so often, as we see that they are held in *England*, it is what I will not affirm. Besides, that the length of the Deliberations is a cause very many times that one loses the Opportunities, which it is not easie to retrieve again. It is certain, that it does not look well for Subjects to put their King so frequently under a
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Tutelage. If this was perhaps permitted them, yet it ought not to be at the most but upon important Occasions; and where it seems necessary, that all the Orders of the Kingdom do apply their Consent. In all other things, it is sufficient that the Prince, with his Council, judges what is reasonable: It being to be presumed, that he does nothing but for the good of his People.

If it was a proper place here to debate, whether the Council of a Prince ought to be such as is agreeable to the Subjects; and whether consequently yours were in the right, to desire that you should remove from your Person the Cardinal *Mazarine*, the Question would be curious. One should see on the one hand, how the Interest which they have that one gives no ill Counsel to your Majesty, seems to authorize that Pretension: And on the other, the Inconveniences which would arise at every moment upon so new an Establishment. One should see, indeed, that it would be to reduce at the same time *Monarchs* into a strange conjuncture; and that they would possess no more than a vain appearance of Sovereignty. But as the business here is upon another thing, I shall content my self to say, that there results from the Establishment of these Estates a Consequence, which it is impossible to reject, and it is this; That a King ought to have for his People a tender Love, and never should do any thing that is unsuitable to it. The reason is; because there would have been no need of the making of this Establishment, if it had but depended upon themselves to do whatsoever should seem good to them. But now since there is created, as I may say, a *Guardian* of the People

ple; and who hath a Right to interpose his Mediation to that, that there is nothing passed to the prejudice of their Interests; it is an infallible Token that Princes ought to be the Fathers of them, and not Tyrants. Otherwise this Creation would have been only made to favour the one, and to take away the Rights of the other. Now do we not see, that one hath ever accused the States with having usurped an Authority which was not their due; and the suspicion of that is much rather fallen upon the Princes, from which a great many really would scarce be able to defend themselves.

If the Obligation of Kings towards their People discovers it self evidently by All that which hath been already said; it will appear no less, by what there remains to me to say farther. Let us examine what the one and the others are: What they do, and what they are obliged to do: And we shall see by that, that if the one owes Obedience to the others, the others owe Love and Protection to them.

A Prince, to speak properly, is in a State that which the Heart is with relation to all the Parts of the Body. If the Heart is sick, all the Body resents it immediately: In like manner, if there be any part of the Body which is so, the Heart suffers for it at the same time. It is necessary then, in order to establish a perfect health, that the Heart and all the Members be of a harmony together: And that they perform their Functions so well, as to succour one another mutually. It is just so with a Prince, and his State. There must be a perfect Harmony betwixt him and his Subjects: And if he is the *Mobile* of all their Actions;

as the heart is of all the parts of the Body, it is necessary also that he receive succour from them, to cause his Authority to flourish, and to preserve their repose: Just as the Heart hath need of the succour of the parts which answer to it, to maintain it self in a vigorous State, and such as there ought to be, to make them to enjoy the same.

If this Truth is incontestible, as one cannot doubt but it is, it is for a Prince to cause that Harmony to prosper, which depends intirely upon him; because the People will never disobey him, so long as he shall establish his Reign on Justice. Now the way to be just to them, is to love them every one in right of himself; and not to suffer that the stronger oppresses the weaker. Your Majesty seems to have provided for this sufficiently: Not only by the good Ordinances which you have made, but also by sending into the Provinces, Magistrates, whose Employ it is to take care that they are put in Execution. Yet it is to be known, whether this is still enough: And whether under the name of your Majesty, there are not Violences committed, which are even greater than those, which one hath occasion to apprehend from the *Grande*s of your Kingdom. In fine, it is you who are the *Power of Powers*: And if the Power of others is Abased, but only to make yours to Triumph, you should take very good care that it does not yet proceed unto Injustice. The Avarice of the *Farmers* is such, that provided that they can fill their Pockets, they regard not how they expose the Glory of your Name. The *Council* goes sometimes too fast to give out Arrests, which authorize their Extorsions. The
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Care which they have to please your Majesty, makes them, that as soon as ever a thing seems but to be for your Interests, they do not much examine that of your People. I have seen upon some Junctures, that they have made *blind Compliances*, and what one may even call *Criminal*; because it is to violate the Justice of which they ought to be the Defendants. Your Majesty knows, that I have opposed my self to them very often: And that as much *firmness* as I have for the things, which I think are just; I am as much grieved to give hands to the Establishment of those, which are not so.

Let your Majesty call to mind what there did pass at the time, that the Business of *Excess in drinking* was before the Board! I set my self against it with all my power: And if the thing had but depended upon me, it had never been done. I knew really the Injustice of it: Although they had endeavoured to give to it all the Colours, as one could possibly imagine. And so it made such a noise in the end, that your Majesty thought it convenient to revoke that new Tax.

There are some others of this Nature, which they have established, and which yet are so *crying*, that they cannot be of a long duration. I reckon in this number, that which is done in a great many places; where they oblige one to pay two Duties, which ought to be incompatible. That is, the Duty of *Admission*, which is levied in the Free Towns; and the *Taille*. In the mean time, although your Majesty enters not into the Account of this Matter, they do not forbear to make you, as well as me, responsible for it. They imagine, that it is not done but by your express Order,
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and by my Counsel. And yet it is the *Intendants* of the Provinces, who have the greatest part in it of any : And the desire which they have to *make their Court*, by increasing the Revenue of Your Majesty, leads them, that they do not regard how they are the instruments of Oppression upon the People.

That, which occasions this disorder, is this ; that the *Council*, out of which those *Intendants* are elected, and whose Members are designed to succeed to them in their Places, would believe they did an injury to themselves, if they did not follow their Orders. Besides, the first Instances in a Matter of the Duties to Your Majesty, being to be made most commonly before the *General Assessors*, what Justice hath your People to hope for there? *Your People*, who plead properly before their Adversaries, as one may say ; because there is not a *General Assessor* in France, who is not a Pensioner to the *Farmers*. This is an Abuse, to the Reformation whereof your Majesty is obliged to attend ; and you know that I have spoken to you of it many times. As to the *Intendants*, the thing is more nice : Because it is for the good of your State, that a Post like theirs should not be filled but by Persons who are zealous for your Interests. Because if it was by difficult Men, and who should not watch of themselves to the good of your Affairs, they would go to ruine presently. That which is to be observed here, is this ; That they do not over-stretch things out of Flattery : And it is for your Majesty, and the Council, to set bounds to the great desires, which they have to render themselves agreeable. Very often too, a Passion to heap up Riches forms a great Understanding

betwixt the *Farmers* and them. Wherefore to avoid this Abuse, Your Majesty is not only to cast your choice upon Persons, as are capable of such an Employ; but who also may be in a condition to maintain it, without doing Mean things. For just as a King hath the Glory of all the Good which is done in a Kingdom, so they come upon him for all the ill that is done there too.

Now all these things contribute very much to the Love, or to the Hatred which one hath to a Prince: so that he cannot for this reason be too reserved in laying on of new Burdens; nor too circumspect upon the *Examen* of Persons, to whom he pleases to intrust his Authority.

C H A P. X.

Of All the Kingdom in General.

VW HEN I consider in my mind attentively the Kingdom, and in what manner it is composed, I find in it six sorts of Estates of Men, which are quite different the one from the other: and which contribute all of them to its Grandeur, if it was not for one, which is so very far from concurring to it, that they destroy it intirely. The first is the *Clergy*; The second, the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; The third, the Third Estate, in which the *Lawyers* also are comprized; The fourth, the Men of *Business*; The fifth, the *Tradesmen*; and the sixth the *Household*
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men. The *Clergy* never can be considered, as an unprofitable Member: *They*, who labour to maintain Religion: Which being once taken away, or wasted in any of these Parts, it would be follow'd by such a mischief, as is, as I have made it appear here before, irremediable.

The *Gentry*, in like manner, is a Body, which gives not only a Lustre to a Monarchy, but which is also its fastest support.

As to the *Lawyers*, it seems to consider things but superficially, that they are even more useful than the two others. But yet if one will give himself the trouble to search them to the bottom, one shall find that they are so very far from being necessary in a State, that they are the intire ruine of it. That Multiplicity of *Justices Royal* and *Subaltern*, those *Bailiwicks*, those *Presidial Courts*, and those *Parliaments*, are as so many Blood-suckers, that eat up your People: And I maintain, that they cost them every Year above Two hundred Millions. The remedy which is to be had against so great an Evil, I shall examine into by and by. In the mean time, I pass on to another sort of *Leeches*, who are altogether as much decry'd as they; but who however are of more Use.

I mean the *Men of Business*: Whom the Common People look upon as the Instruments of all their Evils: And if they are not altogether deceived in that, yet it is still true to say, that this Abuse may be corrected more easily than the other. And in short, if it is an Evil, it is not one, for which there is no Remedy. I shall bring this Matter under an Examination in a moment, after I have spoken first of certain things which ought to precede it.

The Tradesmen are ordinarily comprized within the Third Estate, and so likewise the Husbandmen : But in truth they should very well deserve to be separated from thence, and to have each their place a-part; because it is not just that they should be confounded with a Company of *Pettifoggers*: They, who labour as effectually to the Conservation of the State, as the others do with application to its ruine. So that I presume Your Majesty is too prudent, than not to accord to them your Protection in all things ; and to concurr with them to cause Trade and Tillage to flourish. If it was not, that all things may go on in order, I would enlarge my self here upon the Advantages which you may procure them. But because they cannot pretend to go before those who now come to be spoken to, I return to the *Clergy*, who ought to precede all the other Orders of the Kingdom.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Clergy.

Plety is a thing so necessary to an *Ecclesiastick*, that your Majesty hath all the reason in the World not to confer *Benefices*, but upon those who shall appear to you to be *virtuous* Men. In the mean time, since one knows very well how to dissemble ones self, when it is for his Interest, one must not always judge by the appearances ; so that

that it is good to make these Men *pass through a Sireiner*. The *Seminaries*, which have been established for this purpose, are of a wonderful Use. For although at one's coming in there, one should even bring a *Worldly Spirit* with him, it is as it were impossible, that one does not lose it amongst the good Examples which he sees every day before his Eyes. But it would be convenient, I think, to limit a certain time for the continuance there: And that the Persons of Quality, as well as others, should be subjected to it. It would be proper also in my Opinion, that there should be no Privileges for the exemption of any one. For besides, that it is more difficult to hide oneself before the Eyes of a *Superiour*, who examines you with great application, it is also Then, when you are amongst Persons of Quality, that one learns a thousand things which are necessary to an *Ecclesiastick*, and which are never learnt so well elsewhere.

The *Multiplicity* of Benefices in one and the same Person, is a thing which is in use at this day: But which is not forborn however to be condemned by nice Consciences. The scrupulous even doubt very much, whether it is lawful to remove from one Church to another: And they pretend, that as it is forbidden a Man to change a Wife, or to have many at the same time; so a Churchman cannot possess many Benefices, nor ever commute that which hath been given to him.

The *Greediness* of *Ministers*, and of other Persons of consideration, joyned with the necessity which the Kings, your Predecessors, and You have had to recompence their Services, hath in-

roduced this abuse insensibly. But it is good to take heed of the consequences, which it draws on with it : and which are such, that your Majesty cannot remedy them too soon. The *Ecclesiasticks*, who come from so suspicious a hand, are not usually the most proper for the edification of the People. As they are brought up in Opulence, and amongst the *grand Monde*, the most part of them retain the faults thereof. Their Tables and their Stables consume the *Patrimony* of the Poor : and in so great an abundance, if they cast sometimes their eyes upon those, it is but to order that one should rid them of so disagreeable a sight, instead of having a compassion for them.

If they had but estates only proportionable to their Character, they would live more frugally, and would give a less occasion of scandal. Great Riches do but serve to ruine a Man : and if it is true as the *Gospel* says, that whatever Income a *Clergy-man* hath, he is to take no more with him than *his Necessaries* ; How is it dangerous to have fourscore or a hundred thousand Livres, Rent ; as we see a great many that have it ? Did they indeed sustain the Burden of the State, your Majesty would find a means, the Service of God apart, wherewithal to recompence their good Services. But they are, as to that respect, unprofitable Members ; and altogether on the contrary, they make use of their Character, but to the ruining of others : upon whom they throw the *Tents*, and the other Duties of the Clergy ; and discharge themselves from them with great care.

Your

Your Majesty besides, who in the great extent which your Kingdom is of, hath occasion for a large number of good Servants, would have more ways to reward them, if you should spread about to *many*, that which very often is not capable to contemp the greediness of *one only*. But that, which you ought to consider more than all things, is; that it is for the Service of God, and the Salvation of an infinite number of Persons. Because it is easie to apprehend, that great Riches being for the most part a *Stumbling-block*, those who have so Much, make almost always an ill use of them. From whence it comes to pass, that they are an occasion of scandal to their *Dioceses*; where if there was a Bishop, who had but an indifferent Revenue, he would employ it in useful things, and such as should give Edification.

To put things into this State, there is no necessity to take away the revenues of the *Bishopricks*, and of the *Abbeys*: but it would be fitting, that those that are worth above ten thousand Livres Rent, should be charged with the maintaining of a *Vicar* or a *School-master* in the Parishes, where there is none; and where there is yet a necessity to have one. For the People being so poor, that they cannot support the least new Charge, without being oppressed, the Youth abides without any instruction. In the mean time ten thousand Livres a Year for a Bishop or an Abbot, is more than is sufficient to maintain them. The Service of God does not require, that they should have their Equipages so florid and so sumptuous; nor their Tables so magnificent and so delicate. In the time of the Primitive Church, there did not that Luxury reign amongst them: and do we not see,

see, that there were more Saints then, than Bishops or Abbots of the Court.

Another Good that this will do, is ; that Persons of Quality, who now perswade themselves to embrace an *Ecclesiastick* life but only for the great Estates which are affixed to it, would not take to that any more, unless they were *truly called*. So that we should have hereafter none, but Men of great Piety and great Zeal : whose example alone would suffice to draw others to the same life ; as there is nothing which brings us to recollect our selves more, than what we observe in those who are raised above us.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Gentry.

THE Gentry heretofore was very considerable in *France* ; and their valour was always so redoubtable to your Enemies, that when they knew them to be in your Armies, they have made a difficulty of perswading themselves to come to a Battel. But they have, this some time ago, lost very much of their lustre ; and are fallen into so great a Poverty, that they are not to be known again. There are some *Politicians*, who pretend, that this is an advantage to your Majesty : and that if they were so flourishing as they were in those days, your Power would be far the less secure

cure for it. But these Maxims hold more of the *Politicks* of *Machiavel*, than of those of a great King. A Reign built upon the love of the People, is of a much longer duration than one, that one pretends to establish upon Tyranny. The times are not always the same in a State : and when they come to change, there is a reason to fear, that those whom one uses so very ill may show their discontentment at it by some signal disobedience.

I observe divers occasions of Complaint amongst *Gentlemen*. The first is, that they are made to spend themselves upon the War, and that their Services are ill rewarded. The second, that the *Intendants* Arm their Vassals against them, by the protection which they give to them very often to the prejudice of justice. The third, that they are exposed to the Avarice of the *Farmers*, under specious pretences ; but which have indeed their ruine for their object. The fourth, that the Rank that they have always held in the Monarchy, is no longer regarded : and that in fine your Majesty distinguishes them no more, than if they were born of the *Lees of the People*.

As to the first, it seems to me to be ill founded : because your Majesty, as very powerful as you are, is not however enough so, to gratifie all the World. In the mean time they should observe, that the Creation which you have made of the Companies of *Cadets*, and the establishment of the House of *S. Cir*, is indirectly a recompence which you give them. Because you free them by that means of the charge of their Children ; who are brought up at the expence of your Majesty, and who are put into a condition

to attain to all things by an education, which is conformable to their Birth.

If they pretend, that the Recompences are not always distributed according to merit, and that the Marquis of *Louvois* does, as to him seems good, upon those sorts of occasions, it is an evil to which one cannot give a remedy. It is impossible for your Majesty to enter into so vast an Account. How should you know all the Officers, and every ones Merit, who have so many different Armies, and that act so far out of your sight? It must necessarily be, that you refer your self to him, who is charged with the care of the War: and if he imposes upon you, it is to him alone that they ought to come for it.

For the second, I think, it is the more just and the more reasonable of the two: Because, as it is not allowed to a Gentleman to oppress his Vassal, so it will be said, that the Vassal ought not to fail in his respect towards his Lord. But as it is much more rare, that the one happens than the other; this is an occasion, that one lays almost always the blame to him, upon whom falls the suspicion. One supposes, that the oppression comes rather on the part of him, who hath the Power in his hand, than of him who hath it not. So one condemns him without a knowledge of the matter; in which one does not do well however; because there is nothing more insolent than a Peasant, who thinks he hath got a Protection. In the mean time it is difficult enough to find a *medium* to all this. For if one believes a Gentleman upon his *Parole*, one runs a risk oftentimes to be deceived: and if one gives credit to the Peasant, one is still less assured of not falling into

Into the same case. The remedy that I find for it, is this; for an *Intendant* to endeavour to clear the Truth up, before he orders an information about it. Because an order of that nature is a vexation always to an innocent Person: especially when it is raised against him by a Man, who owes him respect. But if one finds, that this expedient is contrary to justice, where it requires dispatch, it is necessary at least, that an example be made of the *Calumniator*: and that there be no such visible favour used, as may tend to oppress a Man, who hath so much occasion to complain.

The *third* stands upon a lawful foundation, and against which there is nothing to be alledged. I have said before to your Majesty, that the manner in which the *Visitation* was made upon the *Gentry* hath been extremely burdensome to them. I think therefore, that to the end that they may not be subject for the future to the like vexations, it is necessary to seek out an expedient to make them to be known. This is very easie. Let there be an exact *Visitation* once made of them: but which does not pass through the hands of the *Farmers*. Then, when this shall be done, there needs only a *Catalogue* to be taken of all the *Gentry* of each Province: and that for the future, they and their descendants shall remain exempt from ever being visited again. In the mean time to hinder, that one who is no *Gentleman* does not graft himself into a Family, which may be extinct, it is but to oblige every one to deliver in an Extract of the *Baptisms* and the *Mortuaries*, which shall happen in his House. By this means one shall see, that there shall be no *false Gentry* made: and as for those, who shall acquire their

their *Gentility* for the time to come, they shall be obliged to cause themselves to be *Registred*, with the *Titles*, in virtue whereof they shall have acquired the same.

If your Majesty thinks good to pass this Ordinance, and to *keep fast* to that, that one does not contravene it in any manner, you will gain intirely the love of the *Gentry*, and do besides an act of justice. For to say the truth, a Gentleman, to whom it hath cost money and care to deliver himself out of the hands of the *Farmers*, ought to think it strange to see himself the next day fallen into the same vexation, under the same pretence. There come others, who summon him for his *Frank Fees* : and these pretend, that without an understanding which there hath been with the former *Farmers*, those *Fees* would have been subjected to the Visitation which hath been made before. So there must be another Law establish'd, and the repose once for all of an order be secured, which is the most considerable in your State. Your Majesty hath a greater interest in it, than you observe. It is the principal support of your Crown : and if it did not give an example to others by the Zeal, which it hath always had for your Service, every thing would soon go upside down. You must do more : Although your Majesty hath already done much for it, in that which I have been speaking of already, you are obliged to do for it more still. This may easily be, if you will oblige the *Convents* of the *Maids* to receive, without Portion, the Gentlewomen who shall have a desire to be *Religious*. This will be a Weight taken off of the shoulders of a Father and a Mother, and from whence your Majesty

ity will derive a great advantage. For the Fortune which was to come to them, will go to their Brothers ; and render those by consequence more in a condition to serve in your Armies. Therefore, this is the true way to comfort your Gentry ; and to make them to forget all the matters of Complaint which they can have. In reality they find no great occasion of consolation in the Establishment of *St. Cir*. It is but a drop of water to the thirst, which presseth them : and that House is not capable to contain the Hundredth part of the Gentlewomen, who would be glad to find a retreat there. For want of an *Asylum*, such as this, many pass their lives in that languishing manner, that it is to be pitied. Yet these are of the happiest and the wisest of them : and there are others, whom Poverty obliges to take a Husband out of the *Lees of the People*, to the end to be able to subsist by their labour.

A Retreat, such as this, would be also much more handsome, than that which they give to the greatest part of the Ladies of *St. Cir*. Although Persons of the greatest Power concern themselves there ; a Lady, who hath a Heart as good as her Birth, cannot but be regretted to see, that they oblige her to give her self to a *Collector* of the *Maltote*. Those, who have other sentiments, carry but only a show of Gentility, without having any thing of the Reality and the Spirit of it. I will only use for a proof of this, that which hath happened lately in the House of a great Lady : where a Gentlewoman of a good Birth having been married to one of her Domesticks, by the baseness of her Relations, who sacrificed her for the advantages which they hoped

ped for by it in their own Particulars, she suffered her self to die with grief. However the same Man Courts again at this day a Lady, who would not have him, if they permitted her to speak her own Heart : And yet he will have her, in spite of her self and of her Guardian ; because all the *Powers* are for him.

One exposes in the mean time extremely the honour of your Majesty, by interposing in this manner with your Authority to attain to the end of ones pretensions. For these sorts of things are not done ordinarily, but by virtue of a Letter under the *Privy Signet* ; by which one takes away a Young Lady from her Relations, to put her into *Religion*. After that, they endeavour to dispose her to be disobedient, on purpose that she should do that, which the Laws of God and Men require, that she should not do. And it is thus, that a great many good Heiresses have been sacrificed ; whilst those who are concerned, have done it, without reflecting, that they alienate by that means the more from your Majesty the minds of the Gentry, who appear to be interested in it. Thus the Countess *de Talard*, the Marchioness *de Thiange*, and a great many others have been married against the Will of their Relations. In the mean time, however this goes down with Persons of Quality, it is no Consolation to a Father and to a Mother, who should take other measures ; and who flattered themselves, that under the Reign of your Majesty, who loves justice so much, they should be safe from this violence.

The Gentry stand in need again of another *Successor*, which they cannot hope for but from your Majesty.

Majesty. They are indebted over their ears: and unless by your means they find a Secret to disengage themselves, it must absolutely be, that they perish. The Remedy for it is not however very difficult to be found; and your Majesty will also do an act of justice thereby; inasmuch as it will restore to them the repose, which they have lost for the Love of you: Since it is certain, that they are only in the condition, in which they are at this day, from hence, that they are ruined by your Service. You will do more still by it. All those, who are their Creditors, will have an infinite obligation to you. Because you will deliver them by the same means out of a *Labyrinth* of suits, wherein there is no end to be had for the perverseness of the Judges, and the *Chicanerie* of the Parties. And this is but only to order, that the Debtors shall be obliged to give up Lands in proportion to their Debts, and that there be an estimation made thereof at a reasonable rate: Not upon the price, which they carry at this present; but upon that, which they did carry five and twenty years ago. Because it would be to sink them lower still, to consider their estates only in the present value, now that Misery hath diminished them one third: Which cannot always last; because it is apparent, that as soon as there will be a better order of things, they will return again up to the price at which they were before.

But to the end that the Creditors should have no cause to complain, it will be good first to reduce all Rents to 4 per Cent. and to give them the option, either to reduce theirs upon the same foot, or to take the funds which

shall be offered to them. *Julius Caesar* did very nigh the same thing, when he saw the *Romans* so much in debt, that without that it was impossible for them to recover themselves. He ordered, that the Debtors should pay their Creditors in the manner as I have said : and that the Creditors should be obliged to be contented with it.

If your Majesty did but a thing, such as this is, you would find a benefit by it, which cannot be expressed. The reason is, because *Gentlemen* would not only be more in a condition to serve you ; but also when you should have an occasion for money, you will have all the money of the Kingdom come to you. For which purpose, you need only take it at 5 per Cent. And this would oblige every one to bring it to you : because they would find their advantage more with you, than with any body besides.

In the mean time to hinder, that so good an order is not corrupted in the sequel, it would be convenient to do that, which was done twelve years age ; but which was not put in execution for the intrigues of the Parliament. It would be convenient to erect *Registries*, for the recording of all Contracts and all obligations. This would be a means, that no Person shall be cheated : and that one should see there, whenever one pleased to take the trouble, the debts of each particular Man : so that one shall know in the nick of time, whether there is security for him to lend the money, which shall be desired of him. But the Parliament had no mind to pass so excellent an establishment ; which had cut off the Head of that *Hydra* of *Processes*, from whence they draw all their Wealth. They remonstrated, that the for-

tunes of the greatest Persons of the Court, would be diminished to nothing by it: having for the most part more debts than money, they would find no help for themselves, as soon as their Affairs should be discovered. So having found; under this pretence, how to engage a great number of considerable Persons in their interests, they Caballed so very well all together, that your Majesty suspended the Edict, which you had given out about it.

However, that reason is too weak to stop the course of so great a Good. One must re-establish again the *Trust*, which is lost; and secure the fortunes of those who lend their money. One must re-establish again also the *Credit* of private Persons, which is lost without remedy. And really those who have Estates yet left them, find no relief for themselves in their necessities; because one believes them to be more in debt very often than they are. One must make it to appear clear to those, who should assist them, whether or no they shall find their security in it. And one must take away from such as design to cheat others, the means of being able to do it, as it happens to be done daily.

There will arise again upon this, another Good, which cannot be denied. Persons, who are in necessity, finding no succour elsewhere, address themselves continually to the *Usurers*, who finish their ruine soon. Now the erecting of these *Registries* will bring one clear off of their hands, with ease. The moment that one shall have a Fortune, one shall see what one hath to do: and as for those who have nothing, they will be not in a power any longer to cheat any body.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Men of the Law.

IT will appear very strange, that I should speak here of the necessity, which there is, to destroy intirely the *Men of the Law*; because it seems, as if I meant to introduce Violence and Libertinage: two things which are extremely to be dreaded in a State. But if I affirm, that this is the way to render the State the more flourishing, and to remove away all the Abuses from it; I do not pretend by that, that Equity is to be banished, no more than the fear of God, and of the Prince. There are Methods to cause justice to be administred, without its being made so great a burden to the People: and this may be done easily, by practising what I am a going to say now.

The thing which renders at this day the *Men of the Law* Oherous to the Publick, is; the selling of Places, which the Kings, the Predecessors of your Majesty, have introduced; and the Taxes which have been laid from time to time upon them: of which they are obliged to reimburse themselves upon the Parties, who fall unfortunately into their hands. Now as they would be afraid of forcing those to cry out too loud, if they flead them all at once, they stretch out the Suits, to the end to squeeze them by little and little: and that one should not discern, as I may call them, their Robberies. In the mean time they suck

suck you, as far as to the last drop of your blood: and this is a misery, whereunto are exposed all those who are at Law. They must quit their Affairs to go to sollicite, to go to tarry many Years in the Cities, to lose their quiet and their money, and in short to lead a life as miserable, as those do, who are at the Gallies. In the mean time, what need would there be of all this, if Justice was well administred? And of whatsoever nature an Affair may be, is it necessary to disfigure it so by a mass of trifling and paltry procedures? The Truth is always uniform: and why would they make it susceptible then, of so many Colours?

To remedy this, the way would be to abrogate all at one blow, all that which is in use at this day; and to order, that for the future things should be done as they are in *Turkie*, or before the *Consuls*; where matters are judged upon the place, and without the necessity of a heap of old Papers. But as it is impossible, that People accustomed to so great an abuse should be willing to reform themselves all on a sudden, it is fit to consider to cut it off by the root, before the remedy is to be applied to it.

This may easily be, and your Majesty will do it, when you please, by suppressing the *Paulette*. For although there comes to you a large revenue from thence, by the way of an Annual Duty and *Loans*; yet it is not comparable to the good, which will redound to the Publick, and to your Majesty in your own particular, by this. I have said before, that the *Men of the Law* stand your People in two hundred Millions. This is easie to conceive, if one considers the great number of

these *Leeches*, which the People must all maintain ; and the Charges, which they are obliged to be at, to prosecute their Suits. A poor Peasant, who goes to Law, loses not only his Money, but his Time too, which is more dear to him. He is not getting his Living, whilst he is marching from House to House to sollicite. And many times they shut the door upon him there, if he hath not the secret with him, of causing it to be opened to him by Presents.

The Benefit, which each one would find in having justice to be administred in another manner than it is at this day, is too visible than to enlarge my self much upon that Subject. It is sufficient to consider, what would accrue by it to your Majesty and to your State. And this is as clear as the other : and it is not only obvious to think, that your People being more at their ease, because they will be the less sucked, will be more in a condition to supply your occasions ; but that this whole generation of *Leeches*, having no more trade, will be obliged to take to one, which shall be more profitable to the Monarchy. Some will put themselves in Arms : especially the rich, and such as would desire to vye with Persons of Quality. The others will take to Trade or *Business* ; which will be equally to the Advantage of your Majesty. For the more *Soldiers* you shall have, the more you will render your self formidable to your Enemies : and the more Merchant that there shall be in the State, the more it will flourish. It seems indeed, as if there needed but these two Professions, and *Agriculture*, to make a State to flourish intirely. But I must however add another to them, as I will show by and by : and when
I shall

I shall produce the reasons for it; I hope that one will submit himself to those, whatever prepossession he may have with him. Only I must finish this Chapter first: which would be imperfect, if I did not show, which way I pretend, that justice shall be administred, when one shall have suppressed all the Courts, which we see are established at this time.

I would have it, that in the compass of a *Bailiwick*, Your Majesty should make Choice of three Persons of good understanding; and that you should establish those to be the judges of all the differences, which should arise there. That those three Persons should be chosen out of the *Clergy*, the *Gentry*, and the *third Estate*: That every one should plead there his own cause; and if he did not think himself able enough for it, he should take one of his Friends to do it in his stead: That if they played *Tricks*, one should send them at the same time to the place of Execution: That this should be done without Charges, and without any course of Process: and the Party which shall be in the wrong shall be condemned not only in Costs, but in a Fine too. However he should have power to Appeal to your Majesty: who for this purpose should establish a certain number of Judges at *Paris*; whereof some should take the cognizance of the Appeals of one Province, and others of another. But no longer than for one Year only: and at the end of that time, they should change the Judges, and blend them one with another. That their Stipends, as well as those of the Judges in the Provinces, should be taken upon the People; upon whom there should

be laid a *Taille*, like that which is levyed for your Majesty.

If this was established, one should see in a little time no more Suits : and your People would for ever Bless your Majesty, for having restored to them Quiet and Plenty by so good a regulation.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Men of Business.

IN a State of the extent of this of your Majesty, and whose bounds have been augmented by the defeat of your Enemies, it is necessary to be always sure of a succour, which cannot fail you ; on purpose, that if they take a fancy to revenge their losses by some irruption, your Majesty should be in a condition to render their efforts unprofitable. It is impossible that you should do this of your self, although you have a great Revenue. Because if you should go to hoard up, all the People would be sensible of it immediately. There is but a certain quantity of Money in Trade; and this is necessarily to be spread about, to make a Kingdom to flourish.

If one had a time to prepare oneself for a War, and that it was proclaimed long before by a *Herald*, a Prince would have the leisure to fill his Coffers, to support the weight of it. But as one only desires to come upon one another by surprise

surprize, it is a thing of the utmost necessity to have some Remedy to go to. Now there is none such to be had, but by the way of the *Men of Business*: Whose Credit makes all Purfes stirring. For which reason your Majesty hath an Interest not only to serve your self of them; but you must also protect them. Only it is fit to hinder, that they do not become *Blood-suckers* to the People; and to punish most severely those, who shall be guilty of any Exaction. If it is just that they gain something, it is not just that they rob with Impunity.

To allow them an honest Gain, and such as may be capable to attract them, I reckon that it is sufficient to grant them a Sixth of a Remittance, and two *Sols* at the outside for Affairs extraordinary. For as for what concerns the *Farms* of your Majesty, I think that one cannot put them into a better order, than that in which they are at present. One must put down the Forfeitures, in which *l'on ne Compie point de l'excédant* as it is with *Loans*: Because this would be to recal again the Ministry of Monsieur *Fouquet*, and to open the door to all the Abuses which were committed in his time. A *Farmer* too, who looks to the time to come, ought not to wish to make those *Coups fourres*, which render his own Fortune insecure, as well as that of his Children. There comes a *Visitation*, which forces him to *disgorge*; and many times he rots in Prison. It is better that he contents himself with an indifferent Gain, and that his mind be more at quiet.

In these sorts of Tradings, it is necessary that He, upon whom your Majesty relies as to your Revenue, must mistrust the Honesty of the Com-

pany, which he shall charge himself with. It would be difficult for him, unless he uses all his precautions, to keep himself that he is not deceived often in the State of the Account which they draw out for him. One magnifies ingeniously the Objects, or diminishes them, according as one finds it for his advantage. An *Intendant* of the Revenue, who hath the *Direction* there, may have a secret Intelligence also with the Farmers, to *divide the Cake* together, to the prejudice of your Majesty. In order to hinder this Abuse, it is good to put into the Company a Man, upon whom one can depend. This is an *Evangeliste* which one gives to them, just as we do to the Counsellors who report a Process. They must certainly *read upright* after that: And the distrust, in which they are at this new Comer, inspires them with Sentiments of Honesty, whether they will or no.

As it is impossible that a *Comptroller General* should have of himself all the Advices that can bring in money, he must get himself a good Credit with those who may furnish him with them. All such as have furnished me with any Memoirs, as were advantageous to your Majesty, I have recompenced them without respect of Persons. It is the way to sharpen their Wits; and there needs no more after that, than to see what there is that is good or bad in the Advices that they give him. The way to ruine the Affairs of Your Majesty, would be to discontent these. For I would fain know, what a Minister would do, if it relied upon him alone to divine every thing which must be done in a State. He is imbarassed enough otherwise to rectifie the Memoirs;

moirs; and he hath not always time to sleep in quiet.

There are sometimes ungrateful *Bargains*, and such as wherein a Company loses considerably, whatever the remittance is that one hath made them. For Example, if one gives them Commodities, which they cannot have the utterance of, it is all the same as if one had given them nothing. In such an occasion as this, it belongs to the Minister to do them Justice. For if he intends that your Majesty shall never want money, it is fit that he be the Protector of the *Men of Business*, and not the Persecutor. It is fit, if he intends that the Companies shall find wherewithal to make their Advances, that the Publick be satisfied that Matters are all well with them. For if the Publick be left to be once prepossessed to the contrary, every one will shut up his Purse, and take care how he gives away one penny to persons who he believes are upon the point to be ruined.

Since I have been in the Post, to which Your Majesty hath had the Goodness to advance me, I have been a Witness of a Conjunction of this Nature, and I remedied it presently. In 1670. if I remember my self aright, All Purses were shut up in an instant: And the *Farmers* coming to me to tell me at the same time that their Credit was lost, because they were believed to be engaged in ill Bargains, I did two things which I then thought good of for the purpose. I appointed Persons to examine into the Losses, which they might suffer; with a Promise, that as soon as I should be informed of that, I would give them satisfaction. And I sent for the Principal *Bankers* to come to me; to whom I distributed Three Millions; after I had had for

it the Consent of your Majesty. They laid the money out at the same time in Trade: And those who did not understand from whence it came, being persuaded that they would not hazard it, if they did not know it to be very safe, followed their Example; so that All Purfes were open in one instant again.

When there comes a barren Year, and especially in Wine, one is still subject to the same Inconvenience. Because the *Farmers of the Aids* would be ruined, if one did not make them an abatement in proportion to their loss. Now as their Fortunes stand but on an ill bottom, till your Majesty hath explained Your Self, every one locks up his Money; so that the Banks are all shut at a blow. The *Under-Farmers*, in like manner, pay nothing: Because they hope for an Abatement; and they think it absolutely for their Interest to have it to be believed, that they are not able to pay. So there often lies a great deal of money in their hands; which one cannot get from them, although one sends a Garrison amongst them, and throws them even into Prison. To hinder all this, which in certain times would be capable of doing a great prejudice to the Affairs of your Majesty, it is fit that the *Minister* explains himself, and that he appoints Commissioners to report to him exactly the state of all things. But he must take good heed, that he does not chuse them out of the *Farmers General*: Because that this would be to remit the Interests of your Majesty into the hands of *suspicious* Persons. There are many, who under *interposed* names have a share in the *Under-Farms*: So that those would not fail to magnifie things,

things, in relation to such as they should be interested in ; and as for what concerns others, they would not put themselves in pain for whatever might happen to them.

Your Majesty ought to forbear as much as you can, and as much as the Good of your Affairs will permit you, to *impose New Taxes*. However there is One, which hath not been imposed yet ; and yet I find that it is just, and so far from doing hurt, that it will but do good. All *France* is disfigured of late time : And *Luxury* and *Vanity* reign so amongst all People, that it is impossible to distinguish a Gentleman from one that is none ; or the *Bourgeois* from the Magistrate ; or those of the *Lees* of the People from a good *Bourgeois*. The Women, above all, have forgot themselves so much, that they carry a state altogether above their Condition. In the mean time their Families suffer for it : And it is an Abuse ; which your Majesty is obliged to redress ; to the intent, not only to settle the difference that there ought to be betwixt Ranks ; but also to render them the less miserable. Now to pretend to stop it by a simple Ordinance, the remedy that way is very uncertain ; because, as we see daily, those Ordinances hold but for a time, and very often besides one casts a slur upon them at their Birth. It is therefore a more sure Method, to lay a Tax upon those who shall take a liberty to go beyond their Condition : And Your Majesty may by a Law ordain, who shall be they, who shall have a Right to wear *Gold* and *Silver*, and they that shall wear *Silk*, and so of all the rest : And that those, who ought not to wear them, and yet will not forbear to do so, shall pay

pay so much for Gold and for Silver: So much for Silks; And so of the other things forbidden. Now this Tax either will make every one recollect themselves; or it will produce to Your Majesty a large Revenue. For if you put only a Crown or two for Gold and for Silver, as much for Silks, as much for Lace, and so of the rest; How many Persons, who could not otherways wear them by the Law, will chuse to pay the money rather than not to be as others? In the mean time this Tax will make no body cry out: because it will be voluntary, and it will be only long of themselves that they pay it.

C H A P. XV.

Of Tradesmen and Commerce.

THERE is nothing, which is more necessary in a State, than Trade. It is this which makes it flourish; and to see it with the glance of an Eye, one need only observe the difference that there is betwixt a Town which is situated upon a good River, and one which is upon the open Land. The one is rich and opulent, the other is poor and miserable. Those that are situated upon the Sea-Coast, have still an Advantage which the others have not. The reason is; because all things abound there much more, than in those that are upon the bank of a River, or elsewhere: And for a little that a Man hath to
shift

shift withal, it is impossible but he may subsist there conveniently.

Now if Trade, as there can be no doubt made of it, brings such great Advantages with it, This ought to be an incitement to your Majesty to cause it to flourish. Many persons have blamed me, and they do blame me still daily, for having persuaded you to establish the *Manufactures*: And the desire which they would have to draw others into their Sentiment, is an occasion that they despise them aloud; as if there was nothing done in them, which comes near to that that we receive from Strangers. But it is easie to let them see, how much they deceive themselves: And if I must agree with them, that in the Beginning it hath been difficult to bring things to that Perfection as one would have wished, they must also agree in their turn with me, that since that time we have outdone others. For the proof of this, I will only instance in the *Glass* which is made at *Paris*. We never have had Glasses come to us from *Venice* of the largeness of those, which one sees in the *Fauxbourg S. Anthoine*. The Ambassador of that *Republick* was so surprized at it, that he had never given Credit to it, if he had not seen it. And although he hath sent word of it into his own Country, there are those incredulous People there still, as will maintain that it is absolutely impossible. It is true, Our Glass hath not as yet the Life and the *Brillant* of that, which comes from thence. But besides that it is easie to refine it, the difference which is seen as to that, does not deserve that we should transport thither two or three Millions every Year; as we must do as well for Looking-glasses, as for Glasses for Coaches.

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I should be glad that they told me also, what they find to blame in the Tapestry of *Beauvois*, and in those of *Gobelings*: And whether Your Majesty ought to suffer, I do not know how much money to pass into *Flanders*, to buy those which are made in that Country. If that abuse had not reigned till now, it had been long agoe, that had you been the Master of those fine Provinces. Because it is certain, that it is with the money of *France* that they have maintained the War. They have drawn out of that Manufacture, which they follow in three several places, many Millions: And if Your Majesty takes from them besides the Succour, which they derive from *Hair* and from *Lace*, they will soon fall into an extreme Poverty. It is for You therefore to impose so hard a Tax *Here*, that there shall be no haste made to send for them. One may forbear very well the *Tapestries*, the *Lace*, and the *Hair* of *Flanders*: And your Kingdom is large enough, and filled with People who are ingenious enough to furnish to all these things. But it is necessary that your Majesty in the first place abstains to have of them. Because you are the Model upon which your People govern themselves. So that provided that they are limited, they will not examine, whether they are made well or ill.

It is the same thing with our Cloths, and our other Manufactures. One must settle with great Care every thing, which may hinder that our Money does not go out of the Kingdom. If they complain at the first that one succeeds ill, one ought not for that to be discouraged. An Apprentice does not make a Master all at a *Hit*: but *En forgeant il devient forgeron*, by *Hammering he grows*

grows to be a Smith. One knows that all Beginnings are difficult: And it is Time alone which brings all things to Perfection. The Water it self is less pure in its Source than in its Current: Wherefore we must have patience: And it is the only means to come to the end of All.

I know very well, that to oppose my Opinion they object this; that if we put our selves upon such a foot, as to fall off from *Strangers*, they will do the same with us; and that therefore it is more expedient to leave things upon *that* upon which they were, and which they have been upon always. But to speak in this manner, One must be a little instructed, that we stand in no such need of any, as our Neighbours stand in need of us. This Kingdom hath every thing generally within it self; a very little Matter excepted. But it is not so with the States, which confine upon it. They have neither that Wine, nor Corn, nor Salt, nor Hemp, nor Spirits: And they must of absolute necessity have their recourse to us, to get them. It would be therefore to make very ill use of the Good, which God hath done to us, if we gave it away for things which we can easily go *without*. If Strangers must have of our Money, it ought not to be, but for what grows not within the Kingdom: Such as the *Spices* are; which one must either go to seek a great way off, or take them of the *Hollanders*. For all the rest, it is fit that one forbears them: And that Luxury should not charm us so much, as to make us to practise a Fault which is so prejudicial to the State.

The Rigour that they observe in the most part of the great Towns of your Kingdom, for the

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receiving

receiving of a *Tradesman*, is an Abuse which Your Majesty hath an Interest to correct. Because it hinders, that very many Persons do not apply themselves to Trade; wherein they would succeed better very often, than those who do. What necessity is there that a Man should serve an *Apprenticeship*? It cannot be good at the most, but for *Handicraftsmen*; to the end that they may not undertake a *Craft*, which they do not understand. But for others, why should they be made to lose their time? And why also should it be hindred, that Persons who have sometimes learnt more in Foreign Countries, than it is required of them to set up with, should not however do it, because they want a *Brevet* of their Apprenticeship? Is it just, if they have the Industry to get their Livings, that they should hinder them from it, in the Name of your Majesty? *In Your Name*, who are the Common Father of your Subjects, and who are obliged to take them into your Protection?

I should think therefore, that if you should make an *Ordinance*, by which you should suppress all the Rules that have been established hitherto upon that account, you would not do amiss. You would find even your own Account in it, if you pleased to reduce it for the time to come to the Taking out of *Letters* from you; for which one should pay to You a Moderate Summ. Because the Number of those, who would present themselves to take them, would make an Amends for your letting of them have them cheap. Your People besides would have an obligation to you for it. Because that, which they should pay, would be a far less burden to them, than what

what they must do now, before they can keep a Shop.

The *Stationer's Trade* in the *Country* stands in need especially of your Majesty to appoint it some other Laws. Because it is subject to the Inquisition of the *Stationers of Paris*: who by the means of the Privileges, which they obtain out of the *Chancery*, hold all the others of the Kingdom in such a dependence, that they must either starve, or run the hazard of undoing themselves. If Your Majesty pleases to take Compassion of them, you must restrain those Privileges to the sole City of *Paris*: and that it may be allowed to the others, to follow their methods. *Paris* of it self alone is worth more than the rest of the Kingdom: and it is not just, that above two thousand Families should perish for a small number of the *Stationers there*.

The *Council* is but full of Instances which are formed in the like case: and your Kingdom hath an interest in it, that your Majesty pronounces in the favour of the Oppressed. For the Books which one hath from *Paris* are so dear, that the Poor cannot come up to them. And yet a Parson who hath but a hundred Crowns Revenüe, hath a necessity of Instruction, as well as He who hath two thousand. One must therefore furnish him with the means to do his duty: which he cannot attain to, so long as one holds his Neck under ones foot.

One single thing there is, which may detain you from the making of so just and so profitable a regulation. Your Majesty may have some reasons to cut off one Part of the *Stationers*. The *Pamphlets*, which run about of late, make it to

be thought, that their Profession is rather dangerous, than of advantage to the State. When there shall be fewer, one shall know better, from whence the disorder comes. So that it is perhaps necessary to reduce them so low, that they shall be obliged of themselves to take to another life. Indeed, there is no need of so great a number of them: and Knowledge and the *Belles Lettres* will be very well able to flourish without that. But if the intention of your Majesty is for this, you must at least do that which is done in *Spain*. The Books must not be sold but at a certain price: and it must not be permitted to him, who Prints them, to impose one upon them, which may distaste those, who shall have an occasion for them.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Husbandmen, and Agriculture.

H*usbandry* being the greatest Riches of the State, it is for Your Majesty to contribute not only with all your Power to maintain it, but also to render it more *Abundant*. In many Places of your Kingdom, a great deal of Land lies untilld through the misery of the People: Who have neither Cattle to manure it, nor any other means as they should have, in order to improve it. To provide against so necessary a thing as
this,

this, it is convenient that Your Majesty diminishes the Taxes, whose weight oppresses them: And that you lend them some money to get themselves Cows and Sheep. Five or Six Millions, spread about in your Provinces, would make them flourish: And Your Majesty will be the first to feel it; Because as soon as they shall be Fatten'd again, they will be more in a Condition to give You Succour.

One of the most essential Causes of the Sterility of the Earth, comes so very much from the Poverty of those who Labour it, that we see that the same Grounds, and which have the same Soil, bring more or less, according as they are well or ill *ploughed*, or as they are more or less *manured*. So that still it is not enough, that Your Majesty gives them wherewithal to get Cattel, if there wants Horse amongst the *Husbandmen*. I call that a want, when they have but such poor Ones, as are scarce able to *scratch* the Earth. One must sink pretty deep into it, at least in a great many places, if one would have it to be fruitful. So Your Majesty is to spread about your Money here again, upon so pressing an Occasion: And you are so much the more obliged to it, as you will find however another Advantage by it. Which is; that let you but give them *Mares* of a good Growth, and those will cast *Colts*, which shall serve to Mount your Cavalry: and so there will be no necessity of going into *Switzerland*, and into *Germany*, for that matter.

But it is fit, that the Persons who shall have the *Stallions*, do take more care than they have done of them hitherto. For which reason, my opinion should be, to take them away from those
who

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who now have them, and not to give them but to *Gentlemen*. These know the best of any, how it is fit to govern them. It is much more their business, than it is theirs, who have them at present in their hands. In the mean time, the Summ which your Majesty hath thought good hitherto that one should employ upon this Charge, is not enough to put things into a good State. Four-score and four Stallions, as there are but those in all the Kingdom, are for only two or three Provinces: and yet there are others, which are also proper for Breeding.

T H E E N D.

